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Publications of the Florida State
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Number Eleven, Volume Two.

1933
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Sustaining Members of the Society

HERHANDO DE SOTO.

Estremeño uno de los descubridores y conquis-
tador del Perú: recorrió toda la Florida y venció
sus naturales invencibles hasta entonces: murió
en su expedic.ⁿ el año de 1543. á los 42. de su edad.

J. Maea lo dibuxo.

Lo grabo N. [illegible]

True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida. Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas.

¶ Translated and Edited by James Alexander Robertson.

¶ Volume Two. Translation and Annotations.

¶ DeLand, The Florida State Historical Society, 1933.

Dedication

This Translation is Dedicated to the Memory of Buckingham Smith, Edward Gaylord Bourne and Woodbury Lowery, Who Pointed the Way.

1128314

Preface

EE the Foreword and Preface in Volume I. of the present work. See also at the end of the Preface the acknowledgments for aid received by the translator and editor in the course of his work on these volumes. To that Preface, a further word might, perhaps, be added with regard to the men of the expedition and the character of the undertaking.

Hernando de Soto seems to have been especially fortunate in most of the men who joined his expedition. They were recruited under his vigilant eye; and the enthusiasm with which they flocked to his standard is evidenced by the fact that many were left behind for lack of room in the vessels sailing to Cuba from San Lúcar; or because they were rejected as unfit. From all who offered themselves, he chose those whom he considered best fitted for the arduous undertaking that lay before them.

Some had campaigned with him in Peru. They were an asset, for they had been tried and had stood the test. They knew the hardships and uncertainties of a campaign in the wilderness. A considerable number were from Soto's own town or province, and either they, or their families, were probably known by him. That Portuguese should join the expedition is not at all strange. Badajoz, a chief city of the then province of Estremadura, lay near the Portuguese town of Elvas. To this very day, each place is an active smuggling center. Each is a place of entry or departure into or from the other country. There is, and probably always has been, a constant passing from one place to the other. Still, the precaution seems to have been taken of enrolling the men who came from Elvas as being of the town of Badajoz—this undoubtedly to satisfy any official inquiry that might be made.

Some members of the expedition were of comparatively high rank—

perhaps higher even than that of the commander. As such, they had behind them the power and prestige of family, and some, of wealth; and all had apparently been bred to the profession of arms. It is not strange to find some of them among the officers of the expedition. Lay priests and friars were also enrolled, one of whom had the name Soto, evidently a kinsman of the leader. Their primary function seems to have been the spiritual care of the men of the expedition, but their number would indicate that they were intended as well for the evangelization of the Indians whenever occasion might offer. Though the chroniclers do not so state specifically, the raising of a huge cross on a high hill overlooking an Indian village, as related by the "Fidalgo" of Elvas, was probably suggested by the ecclesiastics. For the rest, they probably fought side by side with and suffered equally with the other members of the expedition. After the reverses at Mavilla and Chicaça, they

were reduced to saying "dry masses" because of the loss of the wheaten hosts by fire, together with all the sacred ornaments; and it was not considered proper to use hosts made from maize flour.

There were apparently no convicts among the men. So ready were men to enlist in an expedition led by one who had played so prominent a part in the brilliant Peruvian campaign—Soto was next to Francisco and Hernando Pizarro, and in moral worth far above them—that it was not necessary to open the doors of the jails in order to get enough men. Some of the men were of coarser mold than others and many were reckless and ruthless enough. There was exploitation of the Indians, and cruelty and lust were not absent. This, indeed, has been the story of the contact between white and red man from the beginning to the present day, and no colonizing nation and no country in the Americas can boast of a clean escutcheon. Soto's expedition, how-

ever, in comparison with some that preceded it and many that followed it, was of a superior tone. Much of the credit for this belongs to the leader himself. It can at least be said of him that he was not heedlessly cruel. He was impelled by the necessity for self-preservation. One may readily grant that to our present twentieth-century eyes the basic idea of the expedition was ethically wrong, but this conception was not that of the age of conquest in the Americas.

One and all, from the greatest to the least, were able to endure hardship and suffering. Even in times of plenty, they were dogged by the grim specter of hunger. A proof of Soto's ability as a leader is the absence of any attempt to mutiny; though there were signs of unrest among the men at the time of his death. Luis de Moscoso was not at all to be classed as a leader with Soto; and it is evident that the idea of self-preservation held the expedition together under him. It is quite probable that a mu-

tiny, if led by such men as Baltasar de Gallegos or Juan de Añasco, would have succeeded. It is to the credit of them all that the expedition ended as a unit.

Soto was fortunate also in his officers, who were, in most instances, of more than ordinary ability. The devotion he inspired among his men is evidenced by the determination of Muño de Tobar, who had been "maestre de campo," and whom Soto had deposed, to follow him to Florida as a private in the ranks. He ever gave unwavering loyalty to his leader. One altercation, Soto seems to have had with Tobar's successor, Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, who returned to Cuba shortly after the expedition had reached Florida; but Porcallo seems to have borne him no enmity and aided the expedition from Cuba on more than one occasion.

As compared with the expedition of Pánfilo de Narvaez and that of Tristán de Luna y Arellano, and even that of Francisco Vazquez de Coro-

nado, the personnel of the Soto expedition was unquestionably of a higher type and was better kept in hand. There is one instance only when the men of the Narvaez expedition approached those of Soto—that is, when they built their crazy boats near the present St. Marks, and perished almost to a man on their attempt to reach Mexico. The exploits of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca form an epic of their own quite apart from Narvaez.

The records of the expedition show the conquering Spaniards at their best. It was no slight undertaking to plunge into a new land, of which all were ignorant. Not knowing what was to be encountered from red man, wild beasts, the terrain itself, and the forces of nature, the expedition was as venturesome an undertaking as was that of Admiral Byrd and his men to Antarctica—perhaps more so, for notwithstanding Soto's careful planning (much more careful than was usual at that epoch), he had little

aid from science and all his apparatus was crude and clumsy as compared to that of the present day. But, as in all great undertakings, the men we are told, longed for the hour of departure and thought they would never get to the fabulously rich land of Florida. Lured on by their love of adventure and the hope of achieving great wealth, they expected to find another Mexico or another Peru and their imaginations ran riot with the glories they were to achieve.

Never were men more grievously fooled. There was no wealth as they understood the term. They could not see the Florida of today. They could not visualize wealth as the result of the patient exploitation of nature. They had chosen for themselves four years of gruelling hardship and suffering which, while they might "yield a pleasant tale to tell," were hard enough to bear. The survivors returned "sans everything."

On the other hand, many days of the expedition must have been ex-

tremely pleasant. There were many fine marches along the Indian trails which led beside pleasing streams or the shores of lovely lakes and through more or less open forests. Sometimes they hunted and fished and played with friendly Indians and had plentiful living. They frequently suffered unnecessarily because they were untrained to woodcraft. The problem of a sufficient food supply was among their greatest and most continual worries. They were not of the kind to establish a base where they might grow their own food. They counted on getting most of this from the Indians, unmindful of the depredations they caused and the hostility they created for themselves. To build an enduring settlement was not to their taste. They were adventurers, and little else beside. If they could find another Peru, where settlements already existed, then they might settle down to a steady existence. They did not see even with the eyes of poor Tristán de Luna y Are-

llano, and they would have laughed to scorn the plans of that great colonial pioneer, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

They found no submission in the Indians as had been found in Peru or Mexico where the Indians had long been disciplined into a partially sedentary life. Instead, they found that the plenty of today might turn to leanness tomorrow. The Indians were not to be coerced into obedience. Imprisoned or chained or mutilated, they might be, but these things did not tame them nor calm the fury roused in them by the white strangers. Sometimes they killed their captors. Mavilla and Chicaça became grim reminders of what might be the common fate.

Gradually his men diminished in number—victims of disease, casualties, or sudden death from the Indians. Of the six hundred with which Soto set out, three hundred and eleven only won through to Pánuco. The dwindling of his men and the loss of almost all his resources at last tem-

pered the obstinacy of Hernando de Soto, and when sickness and death overtook him, near the shores of the "Great River" which he first of all white men is known to have crossed, he was intent on returning to Cuba, there to refit his expedition and set out once more on his quest of glory.

The death of the commander brought a new problem—how to get out of Florida and return to as much civilization as Cuba or Mexico had to offer. Moscoso, the leader appointed by Soto while on his death bed was not the man Soto had been. It would appear that Baltasar de Gallegos was more fitted for the leadership than was Moscoso who, said the "Fidalgo" of Elvas, was fond of a gay life and of taking his ease. Still, however chaotic grew conditions, the expedition did not lose its heroic quality. The aimless marching and countermarching, without knowing directions, often through pathless forests and wildernesses, without reliable guide or interpreter, harassed by

hostile Indians only too anxious to be rid of them was no small thing. Quite lost at last, it is no wonder that the majority of them counseled a return to the "Great River" where they might build boats and pass out into whatever body of water it flowed into and so reach a land inhabited by Christians. The return was no easy thing in itself, for they passed through a land that had once learned to hate them. Not a little heroic was the building of the vessels near the banks of the Mississippi and their sailing down the mighty stream to the gulf, harassed on their way by the Indians who came at them from all directions like angry hornets. Not the least wonder was their safe arrival at Pánuco after suffering various storms in the Gulf of Mexico.

Even in that frontier town, the survivors must have presented a curious and semi-ludicrous spectacle, clad as they were in skins and bark garments with which they had replaced the clothing lost at Mavilla and Chicaça. No

shipwrecked mariners were probably more thankful at rescue than were they. Their reception at Pánuco was characteristic of the frontier. They were welcomed whole-heartedly and given freely of the best that could be had. Some of them found acquaintances or people from the same towns in Spain as themselves. The same hospitality was shown them all the way to Mexico City.

So ended the expedition. Some, we are told, looked back with regret at the land of Florida and in later years more than one tried to get permission to return thither. The results of the expedition are more interesting to the present age than to its own. It established for one thing the immensity of the northern American continent; as well as the difficulty of passing through its forests and over its rivers and lakes, and its impassable swamps and the cold regions in the northern interior. It also established, jointly with the Coronado expedition of 1540–1542, the absence of great

centers of barbaric or semi-civilized splendor such as had been found in Mexico and Peru. The northern continent, therefore, lost much of its interest, until the rivalry of other European nations once more focused Spain's attention on these inhospitable regions and caused the sending out of other expeditions for settlement and colonization lest its rich colonies to the southward be lost by attack from the north. J. A. R.

January, 1933.

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Hernando de Soto.

Collotype reproduction from the Library of Congress copy of *Retratos de los Españoles Ilustres con un Epitome de sus Vidas* (Madrid, 1791). *Frontispiece*

Map of Louisiana and the Course of the Mississippi, by Guillaume Delisle (Paris, 1718), showing Route of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto.

Collotype reproduction from the original in the Library of Congress. Facing p. 156

Hernando de Soto.

Collotype reproduction from the Library of Congress copy of Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos* (Madrid, 1601–1615). IV (from title page of "Decada Séptima"). Facing p. 316

Earliest known map showing Nomenclature of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto.

Collotype reproduction of a photograph (of the original manuscript map in Archivo General de Indias) in the Library of Congress. Facing p. 418

A True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Don Fernando de Soto and certain Portuguese Gentlemen in the Discovery of the Province of Florida. Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas.

Examined by the Inquisitor.

1 [f. i, v]

FERNANDO DA SILVEIRA,
Senhor das Serzedas, great poet
and very illustrious, respecting
the material of this Book,
in praise of its
Author.

EPIGRAM

We inhabit the Northern Arctic Pole, and those people inhabit the Southern Antarctic Pole. It is called Golden Pole because it is rich Land.

¶ He who would see the New World,
The Golden Pole, according to
Other seas, other lands,
Achievements great, & wars;
And attempt such things
As amaze and give pleasure,
Strike terror and give delight:
Read by this author
This pleasing narrative;
And he will see not a fabulous [history]
[But one] worthy of being esteemed,
Made use of, read, and discussed.

Finis.

[f. ii, r] André de Burgos to the prudent reader.

Aristotle says that all or the most of men are always prone and inclined to see and hear new things, especially when those things pertain to very distant and remote countries. Those things, he says, furnish diversion to delicate and subtile minds, and re-animate dull minds; and this gives them a natural desire to see and to hear, and, if possible, to take part in them. This desire is for two reasons greater among the Lusitanians than among other nations: the first, because they are a warlike people and of very subtile minds; the second, because they are by nature great navigators, and have discovered more land, with wider sailing, than all [f. ii, v] the other nations of the world. And as it appeared to me that I could do some little service to those who might read this book, I resolved to publish it, taking cour-

age inasmuch as it was written by a Portuguese and in his own language; and likewise because Portuguese citizens of the city of Elvas aided in the discovery, as the narrative itself makes mention. I believe beyond doubt that he has written truthfully, and that he has not recounted fables or fictitious things; for one must believe that the author, not having any interest in so doing, would not swerve from the truth. Besides this, he asserts that all that is here written passed before him. Should the language, by chance, not appear to you very polished, lay not the fault on me, for I did not write it but only published it. May God have you in His keeping.

[f. iii, r]

¶ Relation of what the adelantado of Florida, Don Fernando de Soto, suffered in conquering it: in which is set forth who he was, and some of those who went with him; some of the peculiarities and diversities of the country, and all they saw therein; and of what befell them.

¶ Chapter First. Which declares who Don Fernando de Soto was, and how he obtained the government of Florida.

CAptain Soto was the son of an esquire of Jeréz de Badajóz. He 2
went to the Indies of Castile when Pedrárias Dávila was gov- 3
ernor of the Indies of the Ocean Sea. There he found himself with nothing else his own except his sword and shield. Because of [f. iii, v] his good qualities and courage, Pe-

drárias made him captain of a troop of
horse, and by his order he went with
4 Fernando Pizarro to conquer Peru.
There, according to the report of many
creditable persons who were there, he
distinguished himself over the other
captains and principal persons, both
5 at the seizure of Atabalipa, lord of Pe=
ru, and in making the entrance into
the city of Cuzco, and in all other pla=
ces where they encountered resist=
ance, and where he happened to be.
For that reason, aside from his part
in the treasure of Atabalipa, he got a
good repartimiento, from which in
time he collected one hundred and
6 eighty thousand cruzados, which he
took to Spain, with what fell to him as
[by loan] his share. Of this, the emperor took / a
certain part which was repaid to him
[Soto] : 7 / by six hundred thousand reales with
interest in the [f. iiii, r] silks of Grana=
da, while all the rest was delivered to
8 him at the casa de contratación in Se=
ville. He employed servants, includ=
ing a majordomo, grand master of cer=
emonies, pages, equerry, chamber=

lain, footmen, and all the other servants requisite for an establishment of a gentleman. From Seville, he went to court, and at court was accompanied by Juan de Añasco, of Seville, 9
Luis Moscoso de Alvarado, Muño de 10
Tobar, and Juan Rodríguez Lobillo. With the exception of Juan de Añasco, all the others had come with him from Peru; and each brought fourteen or fifteen thousand cruzados. They all went well and expensively dressed; and Soto, although because of his cupidity he was not liberal, yet since that was the first time he had to appear at court, spent very liberally, and went about closely attended by those I have named and [f. iiii, v] by his servants and many others who came to him at court. He married Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, daughter of Pedrárias Dávila, 11
conde de Puñonrostro. The emperor rewarded him by making him governor of the island of Cuba and adelantado of Florida, with title of marquis to a certain part of the lands he might conquer. 12

¶ Chapter Second. How Cabeza de Vaca came to court and gave account of the land of Florida; and of the men who were gathered together at Seville to go with Don Fernando de Soto.

After Don Fernando had obtained the government, a gentleman arrived at court from the Indies, Cabeza de Vaca by name, who had gone with Governor [f. v, r] Narvaez who had
13 perished in Florida. He told how Narvaez had perished at sea with all his men; and how he and four others had escaped and reached New Spain. He brought also a written relation of what he had seen in Florida. This stated in certain places, "In such a place I saw "this. Most of what I saw there I leave "for discussion between myself and "his Majesty." He described in general the wretchedness of the land and

the hardships he had suffered. To some of his kinsfolk, who were minded to go to the Indies and strongly urged him to tell them whether he had seen any rich land in Florida, he said that he could not tell this, because he and another (by name, Dorantes, who had remained in New Spain with the intention of returning to Florida— for which [f. v, r] purpose he / came to Spain to beg the government from the emperor) had sworn not to divulge certain things which they had seen, lest some person might beg for it beforehand. He gave them to understand that it was the richest land in the world. Don Fernando de Soto wished to take him / with him and made him an advantageous proposal; but after they had come to an agreement, they fell out because Soto would not give him the money which he / asked of him to buy a ship. Baltasar de Gallegos and Cristóbal de Espindola, his kinsmen, told him / that since they had resolved to go to Florida with Soto because of what he had told them, he

14

[Cabeza de Vaca]

[*i.e.*, Cabeza de Vaca]

[Cabeza de Vaca]

[Cabeza de Vaca]

should advise them as to what they should do. Cabeza de Vaca told them that if he had given up going with Soto, it was because he expected to ask for another government [f. vi, r] and did not wish to go under the banner of another. Since Don Fernando de Soto already had the conquest of Florida, [Cabeza de Vaca] which he / came to beg, he could not tell them, on account of his oath, what they wished to know. Nevertheless, he advised them to sell their estates and [i.e., Soto] go with him/, for in so doing they would act wisely. As soon as he had an opportunity, he spoke with the emperor and related to him all he had suffered and seen and the other things he had succeeded in learning. Of this relation, made orally to the emperor by Cabeza de Vaca, the marqués de Astorga was informed. He determined at once to send his brother, Don Antonio Osorio, with Don Fernando de Soto, and two of his kinsmen made ready to go with him, namely, Francisco Osorio and Gar[f. vi, v]cía Osorio. Don Antonio disposed of an income of six hun-

dred thousand reales which he received from the Church, and Francisco Osorio of a village of vassals he owned in the district of Campos. They joined the adelantado at Seville, as did also Muño de Tobar, Luis de Moscoso, and Juan Rodríguez Lobillo, with the wealth, amounting to fourteen or fifteen thousand cruzados, which each one had brought from Peru. Luis de Moscoso took two brothers with him. Don Carlos, who had married the governor's niece, went also and took his wife. From Badajóz went Pedro Calderón and three kinsmen of the adelantado, namely, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco. As Luis de Moscoso passed through Elvas, André de Vasconcelos spoke with him, and requested him to speak to Don Fer[f. vii, r]nando de Soto in his behalf, and gave him patents issued by the marqués de Vilareal, conferring on him the captaincy of Ceuta, so that he might exhibit them. The adelantado saw these and found out who he / was and wrote him promising that he

15

16

[Vasconcelos]

would favor him in every way and would give him men to command in Florida. From Elvas went André de Vasconcelos, Fernan Pegado, Antonio Martinez Segurado, Mem Roys Pereyra, Joam Cordeiro, Estevan Pegado, Bento Fernandez, and Alvaro Fernandez; and from Salamanca, Jaen, Valencia, Albuquerque, and other parts of Spain many persons of noble family gathered in Seville; so much so that many men of good condition, who had sold their estates, remained behind in San Lúcar because there was no ship for them; [f. vii, v] although for other known and rich countries it was usual to lack men. The cause of this was what Cabeza de Vaca had told the emperor and given persons who conversed with him to understand respecting that land. Soto made him / fine proposals but Cabeza de Vaca, having agreed to go with him, as mentioned above, because Soto would not give him money to pay for a ship which he had bought, they disagreed, and Cabeza de Vaca went

17

[*i.e.*, Cabeza de Vaca]

as governor to Río de la Plata. His kinsmen, Cristóbal de Espíndola and Baltasar de Gallegos went with Soto. Baltasar de Gallegos sold houses, vineyards, a rent of wheat, and ninety geiras of olive orchard in the district of Seville. He obtained the post of chief constable and took his wife with him. Many other persons of rank also went with the adelantado, and obtained the following posts aided by powerful in[f. viii, r]fluence, for they were posts which were desired by many, namely: Antonio de Biedma obtained the post of factor; Juan de Añasco, that of contador; and Juan Gaytán, a nephew of Cardinal de Cíguenza, obtained the post of treasurer. 18 19 20 21

¶ Chapter III. How the Portuguese went to Seville and thence to San Lúcar; and how the captains were appointed over the ships, and the men who were to go in them distributed.

THE Portuguese left Elvas on the 15th of January. They reached Seville on St. Sebastian's eve and went to the governor's lodging. They entered the patio upon which looked some balconies where he was. He looked down and went [f. viii, v] to meet them at the stairs where they went up to the balconies. When they were up, he ordered chairs to be given them so that they might be seated. André de Vasconcelos told him who he and the other Portuguese were and how they had all come to accompany him and to serve him on his voyage. [i.e., Soto] He / thanked him and appeared well pleased with their coming and proffer. The table being already laid, he invited them to eat; and while they were eating, he directed his majordomo to find lodgings for them near his inn. From Seville, the adelantado went to San Lúcar with all the men that were to go with him. He ordered a muster to

be held, to which the Portuguese went armed with very splendid arms, and the Castilians very elegantly, in silk over silk, and many [f. ix, r] plaits and slashes. As such finery was not pleasing to the governor on such an occasion, he ordered a muster to be held on the next day and for every man to appear with his armor. To this the Portuguese came as at first, armed with very excellent armor, and the governor set them in order near the standard borne by his alferez. Most of the Castilians wore poor and rusty coats of mail, and all helmets and carried worthless and poor lances. Some of them managed to get a place among the Portuguese. Thus they passed in review, and those who were to the liking of Soto and whom he wished were counted and enrolled and went with him to Florida. Those who went numbered in all six hundred men. He had 22
already bought seven ships and had placed in them the [f. ix, v] provisions necessary, appointed captains, and assigned his ship to each captain, giv-

ing each one a list of the men he was to take.

¶ Chapter IIII. How the adelantado and his men left Spain and arrived at the Canary Islands, and afterward at the Antilles.

IN the month of April, of the year 1538, the adelantado delivered the ships over to the captains who were to go in them. He took a new and good sailing ship for himself and gave one to André de Vasconcelos, in which the Portuguese went. He left the bar of San Lúcar on Sunday morning, on the day of St. Lazarus in that month, and as was later written, amid great festivity, ordering the trumpets to be sounded and many rounds of [f. x, r] artillery fired. For four days he sailed amid favoring weather and then the wind lulled. The calms with a rolling sea lasted for a week, during which no

headway was made. On the fifteenth day after his departure from San Lúcar, he reached Gomera, one of the Canary Islands, on the morning of Easter Sunday. The count of that island was clad entirely in white—cloak jerkin, hose, shoes, and cap—and resembled a gypsy count. He received the governor very cordially. The latter was well provided with lodgings and all the men were lodged there without expense. For his money, he / [Soto]
was provided with many provisions, bread, wine, and meat; and they took what was needful for the ships. On the following Sunday, a week after their arrival, they left the island of Gomera. The count gave Doña Isabel, the wife [f. x, v] of the adelantado,
a bastard daughter of his, as her maid. 23
They reached the Antilles at the island of Cuba, at the port of the city of
Santiago on Whitsuntide. As soon as 24
they arrived there, a gentleman of the city sent a very beautiful and well caparisoned roan horse to the shore for the governor and a mule for Doña Is-

abel; and all the men of foot and horse who were in the town came to the shore to welcome them. The governor was lodged, visited, and served by all the citizens of that city, and all the men were lodged free of expense. Those who wished to go into the country were quartered among the dwelling and farm houses by fours and sixes, in accordance with the possibility of the owners of the dwellings, [f. xi, r] and were furnished by the latter with the
25 provisions of which they had need.

¶ Chapter V. Of the citizens of the city of Santiago and the other towns of the island; and of the quality of the land and the fruits thereof.

The city of Santiago has about eighty large and well apportioned
26 houses. Most of them have wooden walls and roofs of hay. A few are of stone and

lime and are rooted with tiles. They have large farms on which are many trees differing from those of Spain—fig trees which produce figs as big as the fist, yellow inside and of little savor; and other trees which produce a fruit called [f. xi, v] "anona," of the shape and size of a small pineapple. It is a tasty fruit, and when the rind is removed, the pulp resembles a piece of curd. On the farms in the country are other large pineapples which grow on low trees that resemble the aloe. They are of excellent odor and of fine taste. Other trees yield a good fruit called "mamei," of the size of a peach, 27
which the islanders consider the best of all the fruits of the land. There is another fruit called guava, resembling the hazel nut in form, the size of a fig. There are other trees as tall as a good lance, with a single stalk having no branches, with leaves broad and as long as a javelin, the fruit of the size and form of a cucumber (on one [f. xii, r] bunch twenty or thirty); and also as the fruit goes on ripening, the tree

goes on bending lower with it. They are called plantains in that land and are of agreeable taste. They ripen after being gathered, although those that ripen on the tree itself are better. The tree produces fruit but once. When the tree is cut down, others grow at the root which yield fruit the next year. There is another fruit on which many people live, especially the slaves, which they call "batata" /. These now grow in the island of Terceira belonging to this kingdom of Portugal. They grow under ground and resemble the yam. They have almost the taste of chestnuts. The bread of that land is also made from roots
28 which resemble potatoes. The bread made from those [f. xii, v] roots resembles the pith of the alder. The earth is heaped up and in each heap four or five stalks are planted; and after they have been planted for a year and a half, the roots are gathered. Should any person, thinking it to be a potato, eat any of it, he runs great risk of death, as was found by experience in the case

[*i.e.*, potato]

of a soldier who, as soon as he ate a very little of a root, died immediately. They pare those roots and grate them, and crush them in a press. The juice that comes out has a bad smell. The bread has but little taste and less nourishment. Of the fruits of Spain, it / has figs and oranges. They produce fruit all year long because the land is very hot and vigorous. In that land are many horses and cattle; and all through the year / green grass. There are many wild cattle and hogs whereby [f. xiii, r] the people of the island are well supplied with meat. In the country outside the town are many fruits; and it sometimes happens that some Christian gets lost and wanders about lost for fifteen or twenty days because of the many paths made by the cattle crisscrossing from one part to another through the dense forests. Thus wandering about lost, he keeps alive on fruits and palmetto cabbage, for there are many large palm trees throughout the island which yield no other fruit of any value. The island of

[Cuba]

[there is]

29

30 Cuba is three hundred leagues in extent from east to southeast, and in some places thirty, and in others forty, leagues from north to south. There are six towns of Christians, namely, Santiago, Baracoa, the Bayamo, Puerto Principe, Sancti Spiritus, and the Havana. Each one has between thirty and forty citizens, ex[f. xiii, v]cept Santiago and the Havana, each
31 of which has seventy or eighty houses. They all have churches and a chaplain who confesses the people and celebrates mass for them. In Santiago there is a Franciscan monastery. It has few friars, but is well provided with alms, because of the richness of the land. The church of Santiago has a suitable income, a parish priest, benefices, and many secular priests, it being the church of that city which
32 is the capital of all the island. There is much gold in this land, but few slaves to get it out, for many hanged themselves because of the harsh treatment received in the mines from the Christians. An overseer of Vasco

Porcallo, a resident of that island, having learned that his Indians were about to hang themselves, with a rope in his hands, went to await them in the place where [f. xiiii, r] they were to meet and told them that they could do nothing nor think of anything which he did not know beforehand; that he was going to hang himself with them, for if he had given them a hard life in this world, he would give them a worse in the other. This caused them to change their minds and return to do what he ordered them. 33

¶ Chapter V. [*i.e.* VI]. How the governor sent Doña Isabel with the ships to the Havana, and he with some of his men went overland.

From Santiago, the governor sent Don Carlos, his brother-in-law/, in the ships, together with Doña Isabel, with orders to await him at the 34 : [*sic*]

Havana, which is a port at the eastern end of the island, one hundred and eighty leagues from the city of San[f. xiiii, v]tiago. The governor and those who remained with him bought horses and set out on their journey. The first town at which they arrived was
36 the Bayamo, and they were lodged by fours and sixes just as they went in company. And there where they were lodged they were given their food without expense. Nothing else cost them money except maize for their horses, because from town to town, the governor went to visit each one and assessed it a tax on the tribute and serv-
37 ice of the Indians. The Bayamo is twenty-five leagues from the city of Santiago. Near it runs a large river, larger than the Guadiana, called Tan-
38 to. In it are huge lizards which sometimes do harm to the Indians or animals crossing the river. In [f. xv, r] all the land there are no wolves, foxes, bears, lions, or tigers. There are wild dogs which have left the houses for the woods and live on the hogs. There are

some snakes as thick as a man's thigh and more. They are very sluggish and do no harm. From Bayamo to Puerto Principe it is fifty leagues. Throughout the island, roads are made from town to town by means of the machete / ; and any year they neglect to do this, the thickets grow to such an extent that the road does not show. So many are the paths made by the cattle that no one can travel without an Indian of the country for a guide, for most of it is covered with a very lofty and dense forest. From Puerto Principe, the governor went by sea in a canoe to the dwelling of Vasco Porcallo, which is near the sea, in order to [f. xv, v] get news there of Doña Isabel, who at that time (as was afterward learned) was in great distress—so much so that the ships were lost one from the other (two of them going within sight of the coast of Florida), and all suffered great need of water and food. After the storm ceased, and the ships were come together again, without knowing whither they had

39

[*rocadoira*]

40

been driven, they came upon the cape of San Antón, an uninhabited district of the island of Cuba. There they got water, and forty days after they had left the city of Santíago they reached the Havana. The governor learned of this immediately and went to Doña Isabel. Those who came overland—in number one hundred and fifty of horse and divided into two divisions in order not to burden the islanders, made [f. xvi, r] their way to Sancti
41 Spiritus, sixty leagues from Puerto Príncipe. The food they took consisted of cassava bread, which is that I have mentioned above. It is of such quality that if water touches it, it immediately crumbles. On that account, it happened that some ate meat for many days without bread. They took dogs and a native of the country who hunted as they marched, or killed what hogs they needed at the place where they had to stop to sleep. They were well supplied with beef and pork on that journey. They suffered much annoyance from mosquitoes, especially

in a swamp called the marsh of the watering trough /, which gave them considerable trouble in crossing from midday to night. There was more than a half league of water and for the distance of a good crossbow-shot [f. xvi, v] they had to swim it; and the rest of it reached to the waist. They were mired up to the knees; and on the bottom were clam shells which cut their feet badly, so that not a single sole of a boot or shoe lasted whole for half the way. Their clothes and saddles were taken over on bits of bark from the palm trees. While crossing that swamp without their clothes, many mosquitoes attacked them, which when they stung raised a lump and smarted badly. They would strike at them with the hand, and from the slaps given they killed so many that the blood ran over the arms and bodies of the men. That night they got very little rest because of them, and the same thing was experienced on other nights at like places and seasons. They reached Sancti Spiritus, a town of [pia]

thirty houses, near which flows a
42 small river. [f. xvii, r] It is very plea-
sant and luxuriant, with many fine or-
ange and citron trees and fruits na-
tive to the land. Half the men were
lodged there, while the others went on
twenty-five leagues farther to another
43 town called Trinidad, consisting of
fifteen or twenty citizens. There is a
hospital for the poor there, but no
other in the whole island. They say
that that town was once the largest of
any in the island; and that before the
Christians made an entrance into that
land, while a ship was coasting along
that shore, there came in it a very sick
man who requested the captain to have
him taken ashore. The captain did so
and the ship proceeded on its way. The
sick man remained on the shore in
that land which so far had never been
oppressed by Christians, where the
Indians found him and took him and
cared for him [f. xvii, v] until he was
well. The lord of that town gave him
[the chief] his daughter in marriage. He / was
at war with all his neighbors, and by

means of the skill and courage of the Christian, he subdued and brought under his command all the people of that island. A long time afterward, Governor Diego Velázquez went to conquer it and discovered New Spain from that place. That Christian who was with the Indians, pacified them and brought them under the subjection and into the obedience of the governor. From that town of Trinidad to Havana, there is a stretch of eighty leagues without a town, which they traveled. They reached Havana at the end of March where they found the governor and all the rest of the men who had accompanied him from Spain. From Havana, the governor sent Juan de Añasco with a caravel and two brigantines with fif[f. xviii, r] ty men to explore the port of Florida. He brought two Indians from there whom he seized on the coast. Thereat (both because they would be needed as guides and interpreters, and because they said by signs that much gold existed in Florida), the governor

and all the men were greatly pleased, and thought they would never see the hour of departure, for it seemed to them that that was the richest land which had yet been discovered.

¶ Chapter VII. How we left the Havana and reached Florida; and of what happened.

Before our departure, the governor deprived Muño de Tobar of the post of captain general and gave it to Por-
[f. xviii, v] 44 callo de Figueroa, a citizen of Cuba, who was to see that the ships should sail well provisioned, and who gave a number of large loads of cassava bread and many hogs. The governor took the post from Muño de Tobar because he had made love to the daughter of the conde of Gomera, the waiting maid of Doña Isabel. He, notwithstanding that the post was taken from him, took her to wife and went to Florida with Soto, in order to

be restored to favor and because she was already pregnant by him. The governor left Doña Isabel in the Havana and with her the wives of Don 45
Carlos, Baltasar de Gallegos, and Muño de Tobar. As his lieutenant for the government of the island, he left a gentleman of the Havana, Juan de Rojas by name. On Sunday, May 18, 46
of the [f. xix, r] year 1539, the adelantado left the Havana with his fleet consisting of nine ships—five vessels with topsails, two caravels, and two brigantines. For seven days, they sailed attended by good weather. On Whitsunday, May 25, they sighted the land of Florida, and for fear of shoals anchored a league from shore. On Friday, May 30, they disembarked on the land of Florida, two leagues 47
from a town of an Indian chief called Ucita. They disembarked the two 48
hundred and thirteen horses which they carried, in order to lighten the ships so that they would need less water. All the men landed and only the seamen stayed aboard, who in a week,

by going up with the tide for a short distance daily, brought the vessels near to the town. As soon as the men landed [f. xix, v] the camp was established on the shore near the bay which went up to the town. The captain general, Vasco Porcallo, taking with him seven horse, immediately overran the land for a half league round about
49 and found six Indians who tried to oppose him with their arrows—the weapons with which they are accustomed to fight. The horsemen killed two of
[others] them and the four / escaped, for the land being obstructed by woods and swamps, the horses, because of weakness from voyaging on the sea, became mired there and fell with their masters. That night following, the governor with one hundred men in the brigantines came upon a town which he found without people, because the Christians were perceived as soon as they came within sight of land; and they saw many smokes along the whole coast, which the [f. xx, r] Indians make in order to give infor-

mation to one another. On the follow-
ing day, Luis de Moscoso, maestre de
campo, set the men in order, those on 50
horse in three squadrons—the van-
guard, the battle line, and the rear-
guard—and in that way they marched
that day and the next, going around
great mud flats which come from the
bay. They arrived at the town of Uci-
ta, where the governor was, on Sun-
day, June first, the day of the Trinity.
The town consisted of seven or eight
houses. The chief's house stood near
the beach on a very high hill which had
been artificially built as a fortress. At 51
the other side of the town was the tem-
ple and on top of it a wooden bird with
its eyes gilded. Some pearls, spoiled
by fire and of little value, were found
there. The Indians bore them through
in order to string them for beads,
which are worn around the neck or
arm, [f. xx, v] and they esteem them
greatly. The houses were of wood and
were covered with palm leaves. The
governor was lodged in the houses of
the chief and with him Vasco Porcallo

and Luis de Moscoso; and in the other houses which were located in the middle of the town, the chief constable, Baltasar de Gallegos. And apart in the same houses were placed the provisions carried on the ships. The other houses and the temple were destroyed, and a mess of every three or four built a small house in which they were lodged. The land round about was greatly encumbered and choked with a vast and lofty forest. The governor ordered it to be cut down for the space of a crossbow-shot about the town, in order that the horses might run and the Christians have the advantage of the Indians if the latter should by chance [f. xxi, r] try to attack them by night. They posted footsoldiers as sentinels, in couples at each position along the roads and at proper places, who stood watch for four hours /. The horsemen visited them and were ready to aid them if there should be an alarm. The governor appointed four captains over the horsemen and two over the footsoldiers. Those over

[*por quartes*]

the horse were: one, André de Vasconcelos, and second, Pedro Calderón, of 52
Badajóz, and the other two his kinsmen, the Cardeñosa (Arias Tinoco and Alfonso Romo), also natives of Badajóz. One of the captains over the footsoldiers was Francisco Maldonado of Salamanca, and the other Juan Rodríguez Lobillo. While they 53
were in that town of Ucita, the Indians whom Juan de Añasco had cap- 54
tured along that coast and whom the govern[f. xxi, v]or brought along as guides and interpreters escaped one night through the carelessness of two men who were guarding them. The governor and all were very sorry for this, for some forays had already been made, but no Indians could be captured, as the land was swampy and in many parts covered with very lofty and thick woods.

¶ Chapter VIII. How some forays were made and a Christian was found who had been in the power

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of an Indian Chief for a long time.

THE governor sent the chief constable, Baltasar de Gallegos, from the town of Ucita with forty horse and eighty foot into the interior to see whether any Indian could be captured; and in an[f. xxii, r]other direction, Captain Juan Rodriguez Lobillo, with fifty foot, most of them armed with swords and shields. Others were arquebusiers and crossbowmen. They went over a swampy land where the horsemen could not go. A half league from camp they came upon some Indian huts near the river; / [but] the people who were inside them plunged into the river. They captured four Indian women, and twenty Indians came at us and attacked us so stoutly that we had to retreat to the camp, because of their being (as they are) so skilful with their weapons. Those people are so warlike and so

quick that they make no account of footsoldiers; for if these go for them, they flee, and when their adversaries turn their backs they are immediately on them. The farthest they flee is the distance of an arrow shot. They are never quiet but always running and crossing [f. xxii, v] from one side to another so that the crossbows or the arquebuses can not be aimed at them; and before a crossbowman can fire a shot, an Indian can shoot three or four arrows, and very seldom does he miss what he shoots at. If the arrow does not find armor, it penetrates as deeply as a crossbow. The bows are very long and the arrows are made of certain reeds like canes, very heavy and so tough that a sharpened cane passes through a shield. Some are pointed with a fishbone, as sharp as an awl, and others with a certain stone like a diamond point. Generally when these strike against armor, they break off at the place where they are fastened on. Those of cane split and enter through the links of mail and are more hurtful.

Juan Rodriguez Lobillo reached the camp with six men wounded, [f. xxiii, r] one of whom died. He brought the four Indian women whom he had cap-
55 tured in the quarters or huts. Baltasar de Gallegos, on going into the level terrain two leagues from town, saw ten or eleven Indians, among whom was a Christian, naked and on that account burned by the sun. He had his arms tattooed after the manner of the Indians and in no wise did he differ from them. As soon as the horsemen saw them they ran at them. The Indians took to flight and hid from them in a forest. They overtook two or three of them who had been wounded. The Christian, as one of the horsemen was about to charge against him with his lance, began to cry out, "Sirs, "I am a Christian; do not kill me. Do "not kill these Indians, for they have
56 "given me my life." Thereupon, he called the latter and reassured them; [f. xxiii, v] whereupon, they came out of the woods. The horsemen took both the Christian and the Indians before

them and entered the camp at nightfall very joyful. When this was learned by the governor, and those who had remained in camp, they were received with the same rejoicing.

¶ Chapter IX. How that Christian went to the land of Florida, who he was, and what took place with the governor.

That Christian was called Juan Ortiz and was a native of Seville, of a noble family. For twelve years he had been in the hands of the Indians. He had gone to that land with Governor Narvaez and had returned in the ships to the island of Cuba where the wife of Governor Pánfilo de Narvaez had remained. At her order, with twenty or thirty others [f. xxiiii, r] he returned to Florida in a brigantine. Arriving at the port, within sight of the town, they saw on land a cane

sticking in the ground with its top split and holding a letter. They believed that the governor had left it in order to give news of himself when he resolved to go inland. They asked four or five Indians who were walking on the beach for it, but the latter told them by signs to come ashore for it, which Juan Ortiz and another did contrary to the wish of the others. As soon as they reached land, many Indians came out of the houses of the town and surrounded them and seized them so that they could not escape. The other man who tried to defend himself, they killed immediately in that place, and Juan Ortiz they seized by the hands and led to their chief, Ucita. The men in the brigantine refused to land and [f. xxiiii, v] made for the open sea and returned to the island of Cuba. Ucita ordered Juan Ortiz to be bound hand and foot
[*barra*] on a grill laid on top of four stakes/. He ordered a fire to be kindled under him in order to burn him there. The chief's
[Ortiz] daughter asked him not to kill him /, saying that a single Christian could

not do him any ill or good, and that it would be more to his / honor to hold him captive. Ucita granted this and ordered him taken care of; and as soon as he was well, gave him charge of the guarding of the temple, for at night wolves would carry off the corpses from inside it. He commended himself to God and watched over their temple. One night the wolves carried off from him the corpse of a child, the son of one of the principal Indians. Going after it, he threw a club which struck the wolf carrying the body, which finding itself wound[ed] [f. xxv, r] abandoned it and went off to die nearby. He /, not knowing what he had done, as it was night, returned to the temple. At daybreak, when he found the body of the child gone, he became very sad. As soon as Ucita learned of it, he determined to have him killed. He sent / along the trail where he / said the wolves had gone and they found the boy's corpse and farther on the dead wolf. Whereupon, Ucita was greatly pleased with the Christian and at the

[the cacique's] [Ortiz] [men] [Ortiz]

watch he had kept in the temple, and thenceforwards showed him great honor. After being in captivity to him for three years, another chief named Mocoço who lived two days' journey from the port, came and burned the town. Ucita went in flight to another town he had in another seaport. Juan Ortiz lost his post and the favor [f. xxv, v] he enjoyed from him. And since they / are servants of the devil, they are accustomed to offer him souls and blood of their Indians or of any other people they can get. They say that when he / desires that that sacrifice be made to him, he talks with them and tells them he is thirsty and that they should offer a sacrifice to him. Juan Ortiz learned from the girl who had saved him from the fire that her father had determined to sacrifice him the next day; and she told him that he should go to Mocoço, that she knew he would show him honor for she had heard him say that he would ask for him; and she said he would be glad to see him. At night, since he did not know the way, the In-

[the Indians]

[the devil]

dian woman went a half league from the town and put him on it, and in order that this might not be perceived, returned /. Juan Ortiz traveled that night and in the morning came to a river which was already within the boundary [f. xxvi, r] of Mocoço and there he saw two Indians fishing. And since they were hostile to those of Ucita and their languages were different, and he did not know that of Mocoço, he feared lest, inasmuch as he did not know how to say who he was and how he came nor how to give an explanation concerning himself, they would kill him thinking him to be an Indian of Ucita. Before they saw him, he came to where they had their weapons, and as soon as they saw him, they ran along the road to the town. And although he told them to wait, that he would do them no harm, they did not understand him and ran away as fast as they could. And when they reached the town, shouting, many Indians came out toward him and began to surround him in order to shoot

57 : [to the town]

him with arrows. Juan Ortiz, seeing himself in so great an emergency, hid behind some trees and began to call out very loudly and to cry [f. xxvi, v] out and to say that he was a Christian who was fleeing from Ucita and came to see and serve Mocoço, their chief. It was God's will that an Indian who knew the language came up at that time and understood him and made the other Indians keep still, telling
[Ortiz] them what he / said to him. Three or four Indians were dispatched from there who went to report to their chief, who came out to welcome him a quarter league from the town and was very glad to see him. He immediately made him swear according to his custom as a Christian that he would not run off to any other chief, and promised him that he would show him much honor and that, if at any time, Christians should come to that land, he would release him freely and give him permission to go to them. And so he swore according to his custom as an Indian. Three years after that, some Indians

who were fishing in the sea two [f. xxvii, r] leagues from the town came to inform Mocoço that they had seen some ships. He called Juan Ortiz and gave him permission to go, who having bade him farewell reached the sea as soon as he could. But not finding the ships, he thought he had been deceived and that the cacique had done that to ascertain his desire. So he remained with Mocoço for nine years, now with little expectation of seeing Christians. As soon as the governor reached Florida, it was known by Mocoço. He immediately told Juan Ortiz that Christians were lodging in the town of Ucita. It seemed to the latter that he / [Mocoço] was jesting with him as on the other occasion and told him that the Christians did not come to his mind nor anything else than to serve him. He / assured him of it and gave him permission to go to them, telling [f. xxvii, v] him [Mocoço] that if he refused to do it, and the Christians returned, he must not hold him guilty, for he was accomplishing what he had promised him. So great

was Juan Ortiz's joy that he could not believe it to be true. However, he
[Mocoço] thanked / and took his leave of him.
58 Mocoço gave him ten or twelve of the principal Indians to go in his company. On his way to the port where the governor was, he met Baltasar de Gallegos as I have said above. As soon as he reached the camp, the governor ordered some clothes to be given him and some good arms and a beautiful horse. He asked him if he had heard of any land where there was gold or silver. He said no, for he had never gone more than ten leagues round about from where he was, and [f. xxviii, r] that thirty leagues from there resided an
59 Indian chief called Paracoxi, to whom Mocoço and Ucita and all those of that coast paid tribute; that perhaps he might have some information of any good land; and that his land was indeed better than that of the coast and more fertile and abounding in maize. At this the governor was greatly pleased and said that he wished only to find provisions in order that he might go in-

land; that the land of Florida was so vast that there could not but be rich land at one end or the other. The cacique of Mocoço came to the port to visit the governor and made him the following talk:

"Very lofty and very mighty lord:
"In my own estimation, to obey you "least of all those whom you hold under your command but greatest in my "desire to perform greater services "for you, [f. xxviii, v] I appear before "your Lordship with as much confi-"dence of receiving favor as if, in fact, "this my good will were manifest to "you by deeds (not for the small serv-"ice which I did you of the Christian "whom I held in my possession, by "giving him his liberty freely, for I "was obliged to do that in order to keep "my honor and what I had promised "him), but because it belongs to the "great to exercise their office with "great magnificence; and I hold that "you precede all those of the land both "in bodily perfections and in ruling "good men, as well as in the perfec-

"tions of the mind with which you can
"boast of the liberality of nature. The
"favor which I await from your Lord-
"ship is that you consider me as your
"own, and feel free to command me in
60 "whatever I may serve you." The
governor answered him saying that,
although in freeing and [f. xxix, r] send-
ing him the Christian, he had kept his
honor and his promise, he thanked
him and appreciated him so much that
there was no comparison and that he
would always consider him as a broth-
er and that he would protect him in ev-
ery way. He ordered a shirt and other
clothing to be given him, with which
the cacique very happy bade him fare-
well and went to his town.

¶ Chapter X. How the governor sent the ships to Cuba and left one hundred men in the port while he and the rest of the men marched inland.

From the port of Espiritu Santo, where the governor was, he sent the chief constable, Baltasar de Gallegos, with fifty horse and thirty or forty foot [f. xxix, v] to the province of Paracoxi, in order to note the disposition of the land and gather information of the land that lay beyond and to send him word of what he found. He sent the ships to the island of Cuba with orders to return with provisions at a certain time. Since the principal intent of Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, who came with the governor as captain general, was to send slaves from Florida to the island of Cuba where he had his lands and his mines, and since he had made some forays and found that he could not capture any Indians because of the dense thickets and vast swamps in that land, upon seeing the character of the land, he determined to return to Cuba. And although there was some difference between him and

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the governor so that they did not willingly hold any communication or conversation with each other [f. xxx, r] he
[Soto] asked him / courteously to leave and
63 took his departure from him. Baltasar de Gallegos reached Paracoxi and thirty Indians came to him on the part of the cacique who was absent from his town, one of whom spoke as follows:

"The king Paracoxi, lord of this prov-
"ince, whose vassals we are, sent us to
"your grace to learn what you seek in
"this his land and in what he can serve
"you." Baltasar de Gallegos answered them saying that he thanked
[the cacique] him / heartily for his offer and that they should tell their lord that he should come to his town and that there they could converse and make peace and friendship which he very greatly desired. The Indians went and returned next day saying that their lord was ill and on that account could not
[Gallegos] come; and that they came before him / to see what he ordered. He asked them if they [f. xxx, v] knew or had informa-

tion of any rich land where there was gold or silver. They said yes, that there was a province toward the west called Cale, and that the people of that 64
land were hostile to others living in other lands where it was summer most of the year. That land had gold in abundance and when those people came to make war on the people of Cale, they wore hats of gold resembling helmets. When Baltasar de Gallegos perceived that the cacique did not come, as it seemed to him that all these messages were pretense, in order that he / might meanwhile get away safely, [the cacique]
and fearing lest if he allowed the thirty Indians to go, they would never return, he ordered them put in chains and had the governor informed by eight horse of what was happening. At this the governor and all those [f.xxxi, r] in the port with him received great joy, for they believed that what the Indians said might be true. The governor left Captain Calderón in the port with thirty horse and seventy foot with food for two years. He and all the rest 65

of the men marched inland and reached
Paracori where Baltasar de Gallegos
was, and from there, with all the men
of the latter, he took the road toward
Cale. He passed through a small
66 town, Acela by name, and reached an-
67 other town called Tocaste. Thence,
with thirty horse and fifty foot, he
went on toward Cale. As they passed
through a town which had been depop-
ulated, they saw some Indians of that
town in a shallow lake, to whom the
interpreter spoke. They came and
[the governor] gave an Indian to act as guide. He /
came to a river with a swift current
and on a tree [f. xxxi, v] in the middle of
it, a foot bridge was made on which
the men crossed. The horses crossed
by swimming by means of a tackle
which was drawn by those on the oth-
er side, for the first horse they drove
in without it was drowned. From
there, the governor sent two horse-
men to the men who had stayed be-
hind, ordering them to hurry for the
road was long and provisions were
68 lacking. He reached Cale and found

the town without people. He seized three Indians who were spies. There he awaited the men who were coming behind, who were experiencing great hardship from hunger and bad roads as the land was very poor in maize, low, and very wet, swampy, and covered with dense forests, and the provisions brought from the port were finished. Wherever any village was found, [f. xxxii, r] there were some blites / and he who came first gathered them and having stewed them with water and salt, ate them without anything else. Those who could not get any of them, gathered the stalks from the maize fields which being still young had no maize, and ate them. Having reached the river which the governor had crossed, they found palm cabbages in low palm trees like those of Andalusia. There came two horsemen whom the governor had sent, who told them that there was maize in abundance in Cale; at which all were rejoiced. As soon as they reached Cale, the governor ordered all the maize which was

69 : [*bredos*]

ripe in the fields to be taken, which was enough for three months. When they were gathering this, the Indians killed three Christians and one of two Indians who were captured told the governor that seven days' journey farther on was a very large province with [f. xxxii, v] maize in abundance,
70 called Apalache. He immediately set out from Cale with fifty horse and sixty foot, leaving the maestre de campo, Luis de Moscoso, with all the rest of the men and ordering him not to move thence until getting word from him. Inasmuch as there was no one to serve them, the bread each one had to eat, he ground in a mortar cannon or mortar made of a log, with a pestle like a window bar. Some sifted the meal through their coats of mail. The bread was baked in some flat pieces of earthen vessels which they set on the fire, in the same way as I have already said was done in Cuba. It is so difficult to grind that many, who would not formerly eat it unless it was ground, ate the maize parched

and sodden.

[f. xxxiii, *r*]

¶Chapter XI. How the governor reached Caliquen, and thence, taking the cacique with him, went to Napetaca, where the Indians attempted to remove him / from his power, and in turn many were killed and captured.

[the cacique]

On the eleventh day of August, in the year 1540, the governor left Cale and went to sleep at a small town called Ytara, the next day at another called Potano, and the third at Utinama. He arrived at another town to which they gave the name of Mala Paz / because an Indian came in peace saying that he was the cacique, that he wished to serve the governor with his people, / that he / should order twenty-eight Indian men and women, who had been

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74 : [*i.e.*, Bad Peace]

[and asking]

[the governor]

seized from him the night before, to be set free; that he [f. xxxiii, v] would order provisions taken to him and would give him a guide for the onward journey. The governor ordered the Indians freed and a guard put over him /. On the morning of the next day many Indians came and took position about the town near the forest. The Indian asked to be taken near them as he wished to speak to them and assure them, and that they would do whatever he ordered them. As soon as he found himself near them, he attacked the Christians stoutly and escaped and no one was able to overtake him; and all the Indians went fleeing through the woods. The governor ordered loosed a hound which he brought along previously glutted on them, which passing by many other Indians went to seize the pretended cacique who had fled from the Christians and held him until the latter came to seize him. From there, the governor went to sleep at a town called Cholupaha; and [f. xxxiiii, r] as it had maize in abund-

[*i.e.*, the supposed cacique]

ance, they gave it the name Villafarta /. In front was a river over which a [Well-fed Town]
bridge of wood was built, and he went 75
for two days through an abandoned
region. On August 17, he arrived at
Caliquen and got information of the 76
province of Apalache. They told him
that Narvaez had arrived there and
that he had taken to boats there be=
cause he found no road on beyond; that
there was no other village, but that it
was all water in every direction. All
were saddened at this news and ad=
vised the governor to return to the port
and leave the land of Florida; so that
he might not get lost as had Narvaez;
that, if he went on, when he might
wish to return he could not; that the
Indians would end by seizing the little
maize that was to be found. To this
the governor answered that he would
not turn back until seeing with his own
eyes what they said, which he could
not believe, and [f. xxxiiii, v] that we
should be ready saddled. He ordered 77
Luis de Moscoso to set out immedi=
ately from Cale and / that he was a= [said]

[in Caliquen] waiting him there/. It appeared to Luis de Moscoso and to many others that they must turn back from Apalache and they buried iron and other things in Cale. They reached Caliquen after great hardship for the land over which the governor had passed was destroyed and bare of maize. After all the men had gathered there, he ordered a bridge built over a river which flowed near the town. He left Caliquen
78 on September ten, taking the cacique with him. After a march of three days, Indians came in peace saying that they came to see their lord; and every day they came to the road playing on flutes, which is their sign by which they make known that they come in peace. They said that farther on [f. xxxv, r] a caci-
79 que called Uzachil, a relative of the cacique of Caliquen, their lord, was waiting with great gifts. They asked the governor to free the cacique, but he refused to free him, for he feared lest they revolt and refuse to give him guides and from day to day he dismissed them with good words. He marched

for five days, passing through several small towns, and reached a town, Mapetuca by name, on September 15. There fourteen or fifteen Indians came and asked the governor to set the cacique of Caliquen, their lord, free. He answered them saying that he did not hold him captive, but that he wished to keep him with him as far as Uzachil. The governor learned from Juan Ortiz that an Indian had revealed to him that they / had decided to assemble and to come against him in order to give him battle and to take from him the cacique whom he was holding. [f. xxxv, v] On the day agreed upon, the governor ordered his men to be ready, and the horsemen armed and mounted, each one to be within his lodging, so that the Indians might not see them and would accordingly come to the town without fear. Four hundred Indians came within sight of the camp with their bows and arrows and posted themselves in a wood. Then they sent two Indians to tell the governor to give up the cacique to them. The

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[the Indians]

governor with six men of foot, taking the cacique by the hand and talking with him, in order to assure the Indians, went toward the place where they were and seeing the time ready ordered a blast of the trumpet to be given. Immediately those who were in the houses in the town, both foot and horse, attacked the Indians who were so surprised that their greatest thought was [f. xxxvi, r] where they could escape. They killed two horses, one of which was that of the governor, who was immediately provided with another. Thirty or forty Indians were lanced. The rest fled toward two very large shallow lakes which were separated one from the other. There they went swimming about, while the Christians round about—arquebusiers and crossbowmen—shot at them from the outside. But as they were far away and they / shot at them from a long distance they did no hurt to them. That night the governor ordered one of the two lakes to be surrounded; for, because of their large size, his men

[the Spaniards]

were insufficient to surround both of them. Being surrounded, the Indians, upon the approach of night, having made up their minds to take to flight, would come swimming very softly to the edge, and so that they might not be seen, would place water-lily leaves on their heads. When the horsemen [f. xxxvi, v] saw the leaves moving they would dash in until the water was up to the breasts of the horses and the Indians would return in flight within the lake. In that way they passed that night without the Indians or the Christians having any rest. Juan Ortiz told them that since they could not escape, they would better surrender to the governor, which forced by necessity and the coldness of the water, they did; and one by one as soon as the suffering from the cold conquered them, they would cry out to Juan Ortiz saying that they should not be killed for now they were going to put themselves into the hands of the governor. At day dawn they had all surrendered except twelve of the

principal men who, being more honored and valiant, resolved to perish rather than come into his power. The Indians of Paracoxi who were now going about unchained, went in swimming after them and pulled them out by their hair. They were all put in chains and [f. xxxvii, r] on the day following were allotted among the Christians for their service. While captive there they resolved to revolt and charged an Indian interpreter whom they held as a valiant man that as soon as the governor came to talk with him, he should seize him about the neck with his hands and choke him. As soon as he saw an opportunity he seized hold of the governor, and before he got his hands about his neck, struck him so hard on the nose that it was all covered with blood. Immediately they all rose in revolt. He who could get weapons in his hand or the pestle for crushing maize tried with all his might to kill his master or the first man he met. He who could get a lance or sword in his hand so handled himself with it

as if he had used it all his life. An Indian with a sword sur[f. xxxvii, v]rounded by fifteen or twenty men on foot in the public place, uttered challenge like a bull, until some halberdiers of the governor came up, who killed him. Another one with a lance climbed up on a cane floor which they make to hold their maize (which they call barbacoa) and there he made a noise as if ten men were inside; and while defending the door, he was struck down by a javelin /. In all, there were about two hundred Indians, all of whom were subdued. The governor gave some of the youngest boys to those who had good chains and cautioned them not to let them escape from them. All the rest he ordered to be punished by being fastened to a stake in the middle of the plaza and the Indians of Paracoxi shot them with arrows. [*passador*] 81

¶ Chapter XII. How the governor [f. xxxviii, r] arrived at Palache and was informed that gold existed in a-

bundance in the interior of the land.

[sic] 82 On September the 23d, the governor left Mapetaca / and went to sleep at a river where two Indians brought him a stag on the part of the cacique of Uzachil. Next day he passed through a 83 large town called Hapaluya and went to sleep at Uzachil. He found no people there, for because of the news which the Indians had of the massacre of Mapetaca they dared not remain. In the town he found an abundance of maize, beans, and pumpkins, of which their food consists, and on which the Christians lived there. Maize is like coarse millet and the pumpkins are better and more savory than those of Spain. From there [f. xxxviii, v] the governor sent two captains, each one in a different direction, in search of the Indians. They captured a hundred head, among Indian men and women. Of the latter, there, as well as in any oth-

er part where forays were made, the captain selected one or two for the governor and the others were divided among themselves and those who went with them. These Indians they took along in chains with collars about their necks and they were used for carrying the baggage and grinding the maize and for other services which so fastened in this manner they could perform. Sometimes it happened that when they went with them for firewood or maize they would kill the Christian who was leading them and would escape with the chain. Others at night would file the chain off with a bit of stone which they have in place of iron tools, and with which they cut it. Those who were caught at it paid for themselves and for those [f. xxxix, r] others, so that on another day they might not dare do likewise. As soon as the women and young children were a hundred leagues from their land, having become unmindful, they were taken along unbound, and served in that way, and in a very short time learned the

language of the Christians. The governor left Uzachill for Apalache and in a march of two days, reached a town
84 called Axille. And because the Indians had not heard of the Christians, they
[but] were careless, / most of them escaped because the town was surrounded by
85 a forest. On the morning of the next day, October first, the governor left there and ordered a bridge to be built over a river where he had to cross. It was necessary to swim for a stone's throw where the bridge was built, and beyond that a crossbow-shot's distance the water came up to the waist. And there was a very high, [f. xxxix, v] thick wood through which the Indians would come to see if they could prevent the passage and those who were building the bridge. The crossbowmen came to their aid and made the Indians take to flight. Some timbers were put in over which some men passed which assured the crossing. The governor crossed over on Wednesday, the day of St. Francis. He went to
86 sleep at a town called Vitachuco which

was subject to Palache. He found it burning, for the Indians had set fire to it. Beyond that place, the land was very populous and maize abounded. He passed through many open districts like villages. On Sunday, October 25, he arrived at a town called Uzela, and on Monday, at Anhaica Apalache where the lord of all that land and province lived. In that town, the maestre de campo, whose office it is [f. xl, r] to allot and provide lodgings, lodged them all. Within a league and a half league about that town, were other towns where there was abundance of maize, pumpkins, beans, and dried plums native to the land, which are better than those of Spain and grow wild in the fields without being planted. Food which seemed sufficient to last over the winter was gathered together from those towns on into Anhaica Apalache. The governor was informed that the sea was ten leagues away from there. He immediately sent a captain and some horse and foot and after going six leagues

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the captain found a town called Ochete. He reached the sea and found a large tree which had been cut down
[*couchos*] and made into troughs / fixed with some posts which were used as mangers and saw skulls of horses. With
90 this message he came and what they said of [f. xl, v] Narvaez was considered true, namely, that he had there built the boats with which he left that land and in which he was lost at sea. The governor immediately sent Juan de Añasco with thirty horse to the port of Espiritu Santo, where Calderón was, ordering them to abandon that
[Añasco] port and all to go to Apalache. He /
91 set out on Friday, November 17. In Uzachill and at other towns on the
[Añasco] way, he / found many people already careless. He would not capture Indians in order not to be detained, for it did not suit him to give the Indians time to assemble. He passed through the towns at night and rested for three or four hours at a distance from habitation. In ten days he reached the port, brought twenty Indian women whom

be captured in Ytara and Potano near Cale, sent them to Doña Isabel in two caravels [f. xli, r] which he sent from the port to Cuba, and brought all the men of foot in the brigantines, coasting along toward Palache. Calderón, with the men of horse and some foot crossbowmen went by land. In some places, the Indians attacked him and wounded some of his men. As soon as they reached Apalache, the governor immediately ordered planks hewn and spikes taken to the sea with which was built a piragua large enough to hold thirty well armed men who went by way of the bay to the sea and coasted about waiting for the brigantines. Several times they fought with Indians who were going along the keys in canoes. On Saturday, November 29, 92
an Indian came through the sentinels without being seen and set fire to the town; and because of the high wind blowing two-thirds of it were quickly burned. [f. xli, v] On Sunday, the 28th of December, Juan de Añasco arrived with the brigantines. The governor 93

sent Francisco Maldonado, captain of the foot soldiers, with fifty men to coast along toward the west and look for a port, for he had decided to go by land in order to explore in that direction. On that day, eight horse, by order of the governor, went out into the open country for two leagues about the town to look for Indians; for now the latter had become so daring that they would come within two crossbow-shots of the camp to kill the men. They found two Indians and one Indian woman gathering beans. Although the men could have escaped, in order not to abandon the Indian woman who was the wife of one of them, they resolved to die fighting. Before being killed they wounded three horses, one of which died [f. xlii, r] a few days afterward. Calderón with his men marched along the seacoast. From a wood close to the sea some Indians came out to attack him and forced him to leave the road, and many of those with him to abandon some necessary food they were carrying. Three

or four days after the time limit set by the governor to Maldonado for going and coming (although he had planned and determined not to await him longer if he did not come within a week from that time), he / came and brought an Indian from a province called Ochus, sixty leagues from Apalache, where he had found a port of good depth and sheltered. And because he hoped to find farther on a good land, the governor was very happy and sent Maldonado to Havana for provisions with orders to wait at the port of Ochus which he / had discovered; and that he / would go overland [f. xlii, v] in search of it; and that if he / were delayed and should not go / that summer he / should return to the Havana, and the next summer return to wait at the port, for he / would do nothing else than go in search of Ochus. Francisco Maldonado went and Juan de Guzmán remained in his stead as captain of the foot soldiers of his company. From among the Indians captured at Mapetuca, the treasurer, Juan Gaytán

[Maldonado]
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[Maldonado]
[the governor]
[the governor]
[to that port] [Maldonado]
[the governor]
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brought along a youth who said that he was not of that land, but that he was from another very distant one ly=ing in the direction of the sunrise, and that some time ago he had come in or=
[other] der to visit / lands; that his land was
96 called Yupaha and a woman ruled it; that the town where she lived was of wonderful size; and that that chief=tainess collected tribute from many of her neighboring chiefs, some of whom gave her clothing [f. xliii, r] and others gold in abundance. He told how it was taken from the mines, melted, and re=fined, just as if he had seen it done, or else the devil taught him; so that all who knew anything of this said it was impossible to give so good an account of it unless one had seen it; and all when they saw the signs he made be=lieved whatever he said to be true.

¶ Chapter XIII. How the governor set out from Apalache to look for Yupaha and of what happened to him.

ON Wednesday, the 3d of March, 1540, the governor left Anhaica Apalache in search of Yupaha. He ordered all his men to provide themselves with maize for a journey of sixty leagues through uninhabited land. Those of horse [f. xliii, v] carried the maize on their horses, and those of foot on their backs; for most of the Indians whom they had to serve them, being naked and in chains, died because of the hard life they suffered during that winter. After a march of four days, they came to a deep river, where a piragua was made and, because of the strong current, a chain cable was made and fastened on each side of the river. The piragua crossed over alongside it and the horses crossed swimming by means of ropes and tackle which were pulled along by them. After crossing the river, in a day and a half they reached a town called Capachiqui. On Friday, March 11, they 97 98 99 : 100

saw the Indians had risen. Next day, five Christians went to look for mortars which the Indians use for crushing their maize. They went to certain houses contiguous to the camp surrounded by a wood. Within [f. xliiii, r] the wood many Indians were walking
101 about who came to spy on us. Five of them separated from the others and attacked our men. One of the Christians came running to the camp, shouting "To arms." Those who were most ready attended to the alarm. They found one Christian dead and three badly wounded. The Indians fled through a swamp with a very dense wood where the horses could not enter. The governor left Capachiqui and crossed over an abandoned region. On Wednesday, the 21st of the month, he came to a town called Toal-
102 li. Beyond that place, a difference was seen in the houses, for those behind were covered with hay and those of Toalli were covered with canes in the
103 manner of tile. Those houses are very clean and some have their walls

plastered and appear to be made of mud. Throughout the cold lands [f. xliiii, v] each of the Indians has his house for the winter plastered inside and out. They shut the very small door at night and build a fire inside the house so that it gets as hot as an oven, and stays so all night long so that there is no need of clothing. Besides those houses they have others for summer with kitchens near by where they build their fires and bake their bread. They have barbacoas in which they keep their maize. This is a house raised up on four posts, timbered like a loft and the floor of canes. The difference which the houses of the lords or principal men have from those of the others is that besides being larger they have large balconies in front and below seats resembling benches made of canes; and round about many large barbacoas in which they gather together the tribute paid them by their Indians, which consists [f. xlv, r] of maize and deerskins and native blankets resembling shawls, some being made of

the inner bark of trees and some from
[*abroteas*] a plant like daffodils / which when
104 pounded remains like flax. The In-
dian women cover themselves with
these blankets, draping one around
themselves from the waist down and
another over the shoulder with the
right arm uncovered in the manner
and custom of gypsies. The Indian
men wear only one over the shoulders
in the same way and have their privies
covered with a truss of deerskin re-
sembling the breechclouts formerly
worn in Spain. The skins are well
tanned and are given the color that is
desired; and so perfectly that if the col-
or is vermillion, it seems to be very
fine grained cloth, and that colored
black is splendid. And of this same
they make shoes. They give the same
colors to the blankets. The governor
left [f. xlv, *v*] Toalli on March 24. At
supper time on Thursday he came to
a little stream where a footbridge was
made on which the men crossed. Ben-
to Fernandez, a Portuguese, fell off
105 it and was drowned. As soon as the

governor had crossed the stream, he found a village called Achese a short distance on. Although the Indians had never heard of Christians they plunged into a river. A few Indians, men and women, were seized, among whom was found one who understood the youth who was guiding the governor to Yupaha. On that account, the governor was more certain of what the latter said, for they had passed through lands having different languages, some of which he did not understand. The governor sent one of the Indians captured there to call the cacique who was on the other side of the river. He came and spoke as follows: [f. xlvi, r] 106

"Very exalted and very mighty and "very excellent Lord: Things which "seldom happen cause wonder. "Therefore, what must the sight of "your Lordship and your men, whom "we have never seen, be to me and "mine; and the entrance into my land "with so great haste and fury, and on "animals so fierce as are your horses,

"without me having known of your "coming. It was a thing so new and "caused such terror and fear in our "minds that it was not in our power "to await and welcome your Lordship "with the ceremony due so exalted and "distinguished a prince as is your "Lordship. Confiding in your great- "ness and singular virtues, not only "do I hope to be held free of guilt but "to receive rewards. The first thing "I beg of your Lordship is that with "my person and land and vassals, [f. "xlvi,v] you do as with a thing your own; "and secondly, that you tell me who "you are, whence you come, whither "you go, and what you seek, so that I "may better serve you." The gover- nor answered him saying that he thanked him heartily for his offer and for his goodwill, as if he had welcomed him and offered him a great treasure;

[the governor] that he / was a son of the sun and came from where it dwelt and that he was going through that land and seeking the greatest lord and the richest prov- ince in it. The cacique said that a great

lord lived on ahead; that his domain was called Ocute. He gave him a guide and interpreter for that province. The governor ordered his / Indians to be set free and departed from his town on the first day of April, marching through his land up along a river with many villages. He left a wooden cross raised very high [f. xlvii, r] in the middle of the public place. And as time did not allow more, he only declared that that cross was a memorial of that on which Christ suffered, who was God and man and created the heavens and the earth and suffered to save us and, therefore, they should reverence it. They signified that they would do so. On April 4, the governor passed through a town, by name, Altamaca; and on the tenth day of the month reached Ocute. The cacique sent him two thousand Indians bearing gifts, namely, many rabbits, partridges, maize bread, two hens, and many dogs, which are esteemed among the Christians as if they were fat sheep because there was a great lack of meat and salt.

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[the cacique's]

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Of this there was so much need and lack in many places and on many occasions that if a man fell sick, there [f. xlvii, v] was nothing with which to make him well; and he would waste away of an illness which couldhave been easily cured in any other place, until nothing but his bones were left and he would die from pure weakness, some saying: "If I had a bit of meat or some "lumps of salt, I should not die." The Indians do not lack meat; for they kill many deer, hens, rabbits, and other game with their arrows. In this they have great skill, which the Christians do not have; and even if they had it, they had no time for it, for most of the time they were on the march, and they did not dare to turn aside from the paths. And because they lacked meat so badly, when the six hundred men with Soto arrived at any town, and found twenty or thirty dogs, he who could get one and who killed it, thought he was not a [f. xlviii, r] little agile. And if he who killed one did not send his captain a quarter, the latter, if he

learned of it, upbraided him and gave him to understand it in the watches or in any other matter of work that arose with which he could annoy him. On Monday, April 12, the governor left Ocute, the cacique having given him four hundred tamemes, that is, Indians for carrying; He passed through a town, whose lord was called Cofaqui; and reached a province of an Indian lord called Patofa, who since he was at peace with the lord of Ocute and the other lords round about, had heard of the governor some days before and desired to see him. He came to visit him and spoke as follows: 110

"Powerful Lord: Now with reason I "will beg fortune to pay me some "slight [f. xlviii, v] adversity for so great "happiness; and I call myself happy "for I have obtained what I desired in "this life—that of seeing your Lord- "ship and being able to render you "some service. Although speech is the "image of what is in the heart and "what my heart feels with this happi- "ness it cannot conceal, yet my tongue

"is not sufficient to enable me to ex-
"press that happiness entirely. From
"whence did this your land, which I
"am governing, merit the visit of so
"sovereign and so excellent a prince
"to whom all people in the world owe
"service and obedience? And from
"whence has come so great a good for-
"tune to those who inhabit this land,
"they being so insignificant, unless
"to recall to their memory some great
"misfortune which might happen in
"accordance with the arrangement of
"fortune? Therefore, now and for-
"ever, if we are worthy of your Lord-
"ship holding us as yours, we can not
"cease to[f.xlix,r] be favored and main-
"tained in true justice and reason and
"called men; for those who lack rea-
"son and justice can be compared to
"brute beasts. In my heart with the
"respect due to such a prince as your
"Lordship, I offer myself, and beg
"you that in payment of this true good-
"will, you may wish to be served by
"my person, land, and vassals." The
governor answered him saying that

his offers and goodwill exhibited by deeds would greatly please him; that he would always remember to honor and protect him as a brother. This land from that of the first peaceful cacique to the province of Patofa—a distance of fifty leagues—is a rich land, beautiful, fertile, well watered, and with fine fields along the rivers. From thence to the port of Espiritu Santo, where we first [f. xlix, v] reached the land of Florida—a distance of about three hundred and fifty leagues or so—it is a lean land, and most of it covered with rough pine groves, low and very swampy, and in places having lofty dense forests, where the hostile Indians wandered so that no one could find them nor could the horses enter there—which was annoying to the Christians because of the provisions which had been carried off and the trouble experienced by them in looking for Indians to guide them.

¶ Chapter XIIII. How the governor left the province of Patofa and

came upon an uninhabited region, where he and all his men experienced great vicissitudes and extreme need.

[f. 1, r]

111 112 IN the town of Patofa, the youth whom the governor brought as interpreter and guide began to foam at the mouth and to throw himself to the ground as if possessed by the devil. They prayed the evangel over him and that fit left him. He said that four days' journey thence toward the rising sun was the province of which he spoke. The Indians of Patofa said that they knew of no settlement in that direction, but that toward the northwest 113 they knew a province called Coça, a well provisioned land and of very large villages. The cacique told the governor that if he wished to go thither, he would furnish him service of a guide

and Indians to carry; and if in the direction indicated by the youth he would also give him all those he needed; and [f. l, v] with mutual words of affection and promises they said farewell to each other. He / gave him / seven hundred tamemes. He took maize for four days and marched for six days along a path which gradually grew narrower until it was all lost. He marched in the direction where the youth guided him and crossed two rivers by fording, each of which was two crossbowshots wide. The water came to their stirrups and had a swift current, so that it was necessary for the men on horseback to form a line one in front of the other in order that those on foot might cross above them by virtue of their support. He came to another river with a more powerful current and wider which was crossed with greater difficulty for the horses swam as they got out for the length of a lance. That river being crossed, the governor came out to a pine grove and threatened the youth and made as if he [f. li,

[the chief] [Soto]

114

115

[the youth and Ortiz]

r] would throw him to the dogs because he had deceived him, saying that it was a march of four days, and for nine days he had marched making seven or eight leagues on each day; and now the men and horses were become weak because of the great economy which had been practiced with regard to the maize. The youth said that he did not know where he was. That there was no other whom Juan Ortiz understood availed in preventing him from being thrown to the dogs. The governor with them / and with some horse and foot, leaving the camp established in a pine grove, marched five or six leagues that day looking for a road, and at night returned greatly disheartened without having found any signs of habitation. Next day different opinions were expressed as to whether he should turn back or what he should do. Inasmuch as the land behind through which they had come was left very desolate and lacking in maize, and the [f. li, v] maize they brought was finished, and the men

very weak, as well as the horses, they were in great doubt as to whether they could reach a place where they might be aided. Moreover, they considered that if they went on like defeated men, if any Indians dared to attack them, they could not escape either because of hunger or war. The governor determined to send horsemen thence in all directions to look for habitation. On the next day he sent four captains in different directions, each one with eight horsemen. They returned at night some leading their horses by the bridle and others driving them before them with a stick, for they could not carry them they were so tired out, and without finding any road or sign of habitation. Next day, the governor sent four others/each with eight horse, men who could swim, in order to [f. lii, r] cross the mud and streams which they might come to, and chosen horses, the best in the camp. The captains were Baltasar de Gallegos who went upstream; Juan de Añasco who went down; Alonso Romo and Juan

[*i.e.*, captains]

116 Rodríguez Lobillo who went inland. The governor had taken thirteen sows to Florida and was now driving three hundred pigs. He ordered half a pound of flesh to be given to each man daily, it having been three or four days since maize was lacking. With that small amount of meat and with some herbs boiled with considerable trouble, the men were sustained. The governor sent the Indians of Patofa back since he had nothing to give them to eat. They, upon ceasing to accompany and serve the Christians in their need, and manifesting great sorrow [f. lii, v] to him at returning without leaving them in a village returned to their own land. Juan de Añasco came on Sunday afternoon and gave news of finding a small town twelve or thirteen leagues away. He brought an Indian woman and a boy whom he captured. With his coming and with the news, the governor and all were so glad that it seemed to them that they had then come back from greedy death. On Monday, the 26th of April, the gov-

ernor set out for the town which was called Aymay, to which the Christians gave the name of the town of Socorro /. At the place where the camp was es= tablished he left a letter buried at the foot of a pine tree and on the pine some words cut on the bark with a machete /, as follows: "Dig at the foot of this "pine tree and you will find a letter," doing this so that when the captains came, who had gone [f. liii, r] to look for a village, they might see the letter and might learn what the governor had done and where he had gone. There was no other way to the town than marks left cut on the trees by Juan de Añasco. The governor, with some of those who had the best horses, reached the town on Monday; and all striving to reach it as soon as possible slept, some at a distance of two, and others at three or four, leagues from the town, each one according as he could march and his strength aided him. In the town was found a barba= coa full of parched maize meal and some maize which was given out by

117

[*i.e.*, Relief]

[*mãchil*]

rationing. There four Indians were captured, and no one of them would say anything else than that they did not know of any other village. The governor ordered one of them to be burned. [f. liii, v] Thereupon, another said that two day's journey thence
118 was a province called Cutifachiqui. On Wednesday, arrived the captains, Baltasar de Gallegos, Alonso Romo, and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo, who had found the letter and followed to the town whither the governor had gone. Two men belonging to the company of Juan Rodriguez were lost because of their tired horses. The governor chid him severely for having left them and sent him to look for them, and as soon as they came set out for Cutifachiqui. On the way three Indians were captured who declared that the chieftainess of that land had already heard of the Christians and was awaiting them in one of her towns. The governor sent to her by one of them an offer of his friendship and the information that he was coming thither. [f. liiii, r]

The governor arrived and immediately four canoes came to him in one of which was a sister of the cacica. Coming to the governor, she said these words: "¶Excellent Lord: My sis- 119
"ter orders me to kiss your Lord-
"ship's hands and say to you that the
"reason why she has not come in per-
"son is that she thought she could bet-
"ter serve you by remaining as she is
"doing to give orders that all her ca-
"noes should be made ready quickly
"so that your Lordship might cross
"and so that you might rest, for you
"will be served immediately." The governor thanked her and she returned to the other side of the river. Shortly thereafter, the cacica came from the town in a carrying chair in which certain principal Indians carried her to the river. She entered a canoe with an awning at the stern and on the bottom of which was already spread [f. liiii, v] a mat for her and above it two cushions one on top of the other, on which she seated herself. With her principal men and other

canoes filled with Indians who accompanied her, she went to the place where the governor was; and on her arrival spoke as follows: "Excellent Lord: May your Lordship's "coming to these your lands be of very good augury, although my possibility does not equal my wishes and "my services are not equal to what I "desire and to the merits of so powerful a prince as your Lordship; for "goodwill is more worthy of acceptance than all the treasures of the "world which may be offered without "it. With very sincere and open goodwill I offer you my person, my lands, "my vassals, and this poor service." And she presented him a quantity of clothing of the country which she brought in the other canoes, namely, blankets and skins. And from her neck she drew [f. lv, r] a long string of pearl beads and threw it about the neck of the governor, exchanging with him many gracious words of affection and courtesy. She ordered canoes to go thither in which the governor and

his men crossed. As soon as he was lodged in the town, another gift of many hens was made him. That land 120
was very pleasing and fertile, and had excellent fields along the rivers, the forest being clear and having many walnuts and mulberries. They said that the sea was two days' journey away. About the town within the compass of a league and a half league were large uninhabited towns, choked with vegetation, which looked as though no people had inhabited them for some time. The Indians said that two years ago there had been a plague in that land and they had moved to other towns. In the barbacoas of the towns there was a considerable amount of clothing— [f. lv, v] blankets made of thread from the bark of trees and feather mantles (white, gray, vermillion, and yellow), made according to their custom, elegant and suitable for winter. There were also many deerskins, well tanned and colored, with designs drawn on them and made into pantaloons, hose, and shoes. The ca-

cica, observing that the Christians esteemed pearls, told the governor that he might order certain graves in that town to be examined, for he would find many, and that if he wished to send to the uninhabited towns, they could load all their horses. The graves of that town were examined and four-
121 teen arrobas of pearls were found, babies and birds being made of them. The people were dark, well set up and proportioned, and more civilized than any who had been seen in all the land [f. lvi, r] of Florida; and all were shod and clothed. The youth told the governor that he was now beginning to enter that land of which he had spoken to him. And since it was such a land and he understood the language of the Indians, some credence was given him. He requested that he be baptized for he wished to become a Christian. He was made a Christian and was called Pedro. The governor ordered him to be loosed from the chain in which he had gone until then. That land, according to the statement of the Indian,

had been very populous and was reputed to be a good land. According to appearances, the youth whom the governor had taken as guide had heard of it, and what he learned from hearsay he asserted to have seen, and enlarged at will what he saw. In that town were found a dagger and some beads of Christians, whom the Indians said had been in the port two days' journey thence; and that it was now [f. lvi, v] many years since Governor Licentiate Ayllón had arrived there in order to 122
make a conquest of that land; that on arriving at the port, he died; and there ensued a division, quarrels, and deaths among several of the principal persons who had accompanied him as to who should have the command; and without learning anything of the land they returned to Spain from that port. All the men were of the opinion that they should settle in that land as it was in an excellent region; that if it were settled, all the ships from New Spain, and those from Peru, Santa Marta, and Tierra Firme, on their 123

way to Spain, would come to take advantage of the stop there for their route passes by there; and as it is a good land and suitable for making profit. Since the governor's purpose was to seek another treasure like that of Atabalipa, the lord of Peru, he had no wish to content himself with good land or with pearls, [f. lvii, r] even though many of them were worth their weight in gold and, if the land were to be allotted in repartimiento, those pearls which the Indians would get afterward would be worth more; for those they have, inasmuch as they are bored by fire, lose their color thereby. The governor replied to those who urged him to settle that there was not food in that whole land for the support of his men for a single month; that it was necessary to hasten to the port of Ochus where Maldonado was to wait; that if another richer land were not found they could always return to that one whenever they wished; that meanwhile the Indians would plant their fields and it would be better provided

with maize. He asked the Indians whether they had heard of any great lord farther on. They said that twelve days' journey thence was a province called Chiaha which was subject to the lord of Coça. [f. lvii, v] Thereupon, the governor determined to go in search of that land; and as he was a man, hard and dry of word, and although he was glad to listen to and learn the opinion of all, after he had voiced his own opinion he did not like to be contradicted and always did what seemed best to him. Accordingly, all conformed to his will, and although it seemed a mistake to leave that land, for another land might have been found round about where the men might maintain themselves until the planting might be done there and the maize harvested, no one had anything to say to him after his determination was learned.

¶ Chapter Fifteen. How the governor left Cutifachiqui to go in search of Coça; and of the things that

happened to him on the way.

[f. lviii, *r*]

124

On May 3, the governor set out from Cutifachiqui, and because the Indians had already risen, and it was learned that the cacica was minded to go away if she could without giving guides or tamemes for carrying because of offenses committed against the Indians by the Christians—for among many men there is never lacking some person of little quality who for very little advantage to himself places the others in danger of losing their lives—the governor ordered a guard to be placed over her and took her along with him; not giving her such good treatment as she deserved for the goodwill she had shown him and the welcome she had given him. He made true the old proverb which says "For well doing," etc. And so he took her along on foot with her slave wom-

en, so that they / might show respect because of her. In all the towns through [f. lviii, v] which the governor passed, the cacica ordered the Indians to come and carry the loads from one town to the other. We traversed her lands for a hundred leagues, in which, as we saw, she was very well obeyed, for all the Indians did with great efficiency and diligence what she ordered of them. Perico, the youth who was guiding us, said that she was not the ruler but that she was the ruler's niece and that she had come to that town to execute justice on certain of the principal men under command of the ruler who had rebelled against her and kept the tribute. No credit was given to him because of the lies in which he had been found; but everything was endured in him because of the need of him to tell what the Indians said. In seven days, the governor reached a province, by name Chalaque, the poor[f. lix, r]est land in maize seen in Florida. The Indians live on roots of herbs which they seek in the

[the Indians]

125

open field and on game killed with their arrows. The people are very domestic, go quite naked, and are very weak. There was a lord who brought the governor two deerskins as a great act of service. In that land are many wild
126 hens. In one town they performed a service for him, presenting him seven hundred of them, and likewise in others they brought those they had and could get. It took five days to go from this province to another one called
127 Xualla. They found little maize, and for that reason, although the men were tired and their horses very weak, the governor did not stop over two days. From Ocute to Cutachiqui it was about one hundred and thirty leagues, eighty of which were without inhabi-
[chiqui] tants. From Cutifa / to [f. lix, v] Xualla it was two hundred and fifty
128 leagues, over mountainous country. The governor set out from Xualla for
129 Guaxule, crossing over very rough and lofty mountains. Along that way, the cacica of Cutifachiqui, whom the governor brought as abovesaid for the

purpose of taking her to Guaxule—for her lands reached that far—going one day with her slave women who were carrying her, stepped aside from the road and went into a wood saying that she had to attend to her necessities. Thus she deceived them and hid herself in the woods; and although they sought her she could not be found. She took with her a box of canes made like a coffer which they call "petaca," 130
filled with unbored pearls. Some who had most knowledge of them said they were very valuable. An Indian woman was carrying them for her whom she took with her. The gov[f. lx, r]ernor, in order not to cause her unhappiness in everything, left them, intending to ask them from her at Guaxule, when he should give her leave to return. She took it and went to stop at Xualla with three slaves who had escaped from the camp and with a horseman who remained behind, for being sick with fever he wandered from the road and was lost. This man, named Alimamos, tried to have the slaves abandon

their evil intention and go with him to the Christians—which two of them did. Alimamos and they overtook the governor fifty leagues from there in a province called Chiaha. They related how the cacica had remained in Xualla with a slave of André de Vasconcellos who refused to come with them; and it was very certain that they held [f. lx, v] communication as husband and wife, and that both had made up their
131 minds to go to Cutifachiqui. In five days, the governor arrived at Guaxulle. The Indians there made him service of three hundred dogs, for they observed that the Christians liked them and sought them to eat; but
[the Indians] they are not eaten among them. / In Guaxulle and along all that road there was very little maize. The governor sent an Indian thence with a message
132 to the cacique of Chiaha, asking him to order some maize brought them, so that they might rest several days in Chiaha. The governor left Guaxulle and after a march of two days reached
133 a town called Canasagua. Twenty In-

dians came out to meet him each carrying his basket of mulberries which grow in abundance and good from Cu- [f. lxi, r] tifachiqui thither and also on into other provinces, as well as walnuts and plums. The trees grow wild in the fields without being planted or manured and are as large and as vigorous as if they were cultivated and irrigated in gardens. After the governor left Canasagua, he marched five days through an uninhabited region. Two leagues before reaching Chiaha, fifteen Indians, bearing maize, whom the cacique sent, met him; and told him in behalf of the cacique that the latter was awaiting him with twenty barbacoas full, and he with all the rest, including his person, land, and vassals, were all at his service. On July 5, the governor entered Chiaha. The cacique moved out of his houses in which he was lodging and welcomed him very hospitably, with the following [f. lxi, v] words: ¶ "Powerful and "excellent lord: I consider myself so "fortunate in that your Lordship is 134

"pleased to use my services that no "greater happiness could come to me "nor any that I could esteem as much. "Your Lordship ordered me from "Guaxulle to have maize for you in "this town for two months. I have "here for you twenty barbacoas full "of choice maize, and the best that can "be found in all this land. If your "Lordship was not received by me in "accordance with what is due to so "great a prince, have consideration "for my few years which acquit me "of guilt; and receive the goodwill "which, with great, true, and sincere "loyalty I shall always have for what "concerns your service." The governor answered him saying that his service and offer pleased him greatly and that he would always consider him as a brother. In that town, there was [f. lxii, r] an abundance of butter in gourds, in melted form like olive oil. They said it was bear's grease. There was also found considerable walnut oil which like the butter was clean and of a good taste, and a pot of

bee's honey; which before or after was not seen in all the land—neither honey nor bees. The town was isolated between two arms of a river and was settled near one of them. At a distance 135
of two crossbow-shots above the town, the river divided into those two arms which were reunited a league below. The field between the one arm and the other was in places about the width of one crossbow-shot, and in places of two. They were of great width and both were fordable. Very excellent fields lay along them and many maize fields. Inasmuch as the Indians were in their town, only the govern[f. lxii, v]or was lodged in the houses of the cacique, and his men in the open field. Wherever there were any trees each one took his own. In this way the camp was established with some widely separated from the others and without any order. The governor overlooked this since the Indians were peaceable and the weather was quiet and the men would have 136
suffered great discomfort if they had

not done this. The horses reached there so weak that they were unable to carry their owners through weakness, because of having come from Cutifachiqui all the way with but little maize. They / had suffered hunger and fatigue all the way from the unpopulated region of Ocute. Since most of the men were not fit to fight on them even if it should be necessary, they put the horses out to pasture at night a quarter of a league from the camp. The Christians were in great danger, for if at that time, [f. lxiii, r] the Indians had attacked them, they were in a poor position for defending themselves. There the governor rested for thirty days, during which time the horses grew fat because of the luxuriance of the land. At the time of his departure, because of the importunity of some who wished more than was proper, he asked the cacique for thirty Indian women as slaves. The cacique answered that he would talk with his principal men; but one night, before returning an answer, all the Indians

[the horses]

137

left the town with their wives and children and went away. Next day, when the governor had made up his mind to go to look for them, the cacique came, and on arriving spoke as follows to the governor:

"¶ Powerful Lord: I am ashamed "and fearful of your Lordship, be= "cause my Indians, against my will, "decided to go away. I fled without "your [f. lxiii, v] permission; and hav= "ing perceived the mistake I commit= "ted, I have come as a loyal vassal to "deliver myself into your Lordship's "power so that you may do what you "please with my person, for my peo= "ple do not obey me nor do anything "except what an uncle of mine orders, "who is governing these lands for me "until I am of proper age. If your "Lordship wishes to follow them and "execute on them what they deserve "for their disobedience, I will be "your guide, for my fortune refuses "at present to let me do more." The governor immediately went in search of the Indians with thirty horse and

a like number of foot. Passing through some towns of the principal Indians who had gone off, he cut down and destroyed their large maize fields; and went to hold the river above where the Indians were on an islet, whither the men of horse could not go. He sent word to them there [f. lxiiii, r] by an Indian that they should return to their town and should have no fear and that they should furnish him tamemes for carrying as had been done by all the Indians before; that he did not wish any Indian women since it cost them so dearly to give them to him. The Indians considered it well and came to the governor and made their excuses to him; and so they all returned to the
138 town. A cacique from a province called
139 Acoste came there to visit the governor. After offering himself to him and exchanging words of politeness and courtesy with him, the governor asked him whether he knew of any rich land. He said he did; that there was a prov-
140 ince to the north called Chisca, and that there was a foundry for copper

and other metal of that color except that it was finer and of much more perfect color and much better [f. lxiiii, *v*] in appearance; and that they did not make so much use of it as it was softer. The same thing had been told the governor in Cutifachiqui where we saw some copper hatchets which they said had a mixture of gold. However, the land was thinly populated as far as that region and they said that there were mountain ridges which the horses could not cross. On that account, the governor did not wish to go thither by direct road from Cutifachiqui, and thought that if he went through a populated region while the men and horses were in better condition and he more certain of the truth of what there was, he could turn thither through ridges and better populated land where he could travel better. He sent two Christians from Chiaha with Indians who knew the land of Chisca and its language, in order that they might examine it, with orders that they should go [f. lxv, *r*] to report what

they found at the place where he said he would await them.

¶ Chapter XVI. How the governor set out from Chiaha and was in danger of being killed in Acoste at the hands of the Indians, and how he escaped through warning; and of what happened to him on this journey, and how he arrived at Coça.

141 SO when the governor made up his mind to go from Chiaha to Acoste, he ordered the cacique to come to him, and took leave of him with courteous words, and gave him some pieces of cloth with which he was very happy. He reached Acoste in seven days. On the second of July, he ordered the camp made in the open field two cross-bow-flights from the town and with eight men of his guard he went toward

the town where he found the cacique, who apparently [f. lxv, v] received him with great friendliness. While he was talking with him, some of the foot soldiers went to the town from the camp to look for maize, and not being satisfied with it, went rummaging around and searching the houses and seized what they found. Annoyed at this the Indians began to get excited and to seize their arms. Some of them with clubs in their hands went to five or six Christians who angered them and with blows served them to their liking. The governor seeing them all excited and himself among them with so few Christians, in order to escape out of their hands, practiced a stratagem quite contrary to his usual disposition which was very direct and open; and although it grieved him greatly that any Indian should dare, either with or without reason, to show contempt for the Christians, he seized a club and went to their aid against his own men, which was done for the purpose of assuring them. / Straightway [f.lxvi, [the Indians]

r] he secretly sent a message to camp through a man for armed men to come to him. He took the cacique by the hand while conversing with him very courteously and with some of the principal Indians who were with him drew him from the town to a level road, and within sight of the camp whence the Christians begun gradually to come under an innocent guise and to take position round about. Thus the governor led the cacique and his principal men until he got into the camp with them. When near his tent, he ordered them to be placed under guard and told them that they could not go until giving him a guide and Indians for carrying and until some sick Christians should come from Chiaha whom he had ordered to come down the river in canoes, and those also whom he had sent to the province of Chisca, who
142 had not [f. lxvi, v] yet come. He feared lest the Indians had killed both parties. Three days afterward they came. Those from Chisca said that the Indians had taken them through a land

so poor in maize and so rough and with such lofty mountains that it was impossible for the camp to march through it; and seeing that the road was getting long and they were greatly delayed, they considered it advisable to return from a small, poor village where they saw nothing that might be of use. They brought a cowskin which the Indians gave them, as soft as the skin of a kid, with hair like 143
that of the soft wool of sheep between that of the common and that of the merino. The cacique furnished a guide and tamemes, and with the governor's permission went away. The governor set forth from Coste on July 9 and 144
went to sleep at a town called Ta[f. lxvii, r]li. The cacique came out to meet him on the road and spoke as follows: 145
"¶ Excellent lord Prince, worthy of
"being served and obeyed by all the
"princes of the world. Just as one can
"judge in greater part of the inner vir-
"tue by the face, and since who you are
"and your power have been known to
"me before now, I do not wish to bear

"the consequence of how small I am
"in your presence by expecting that
"my poor services will be pleasing and
"acceptable, for where the strength
"fails, it is not unbecoming for the
"goodwill to be praised and received.
"On this account I dare to beg your
"Lordship only to consider and ob-
"serve in this your land in which you
"command, how I may serve you."
The governor answered him saying that he thanked him as much for his goodwill and tenders as if he had offered him all the riches of the world, and [f. lxvii, v] that he would always be protected and esteemed by him as a true brother. The cacique ordered brought thither the provisions needed for the two days the governor should be there; and at the time of his leaving he made him service of four Indian women and two Indian men who were needed as carriers. The governor marched for six days, passing through many towns subject to the cacique of Coça, and as he entered his lands, many Indians daily came to him on

the way on the part of the cacique with messages, some going, others coming. He reached Coça on Friday, July 16. The cacique came out to welcome him two crossbow-flights from the town in a carrying chair borne on the shoulders of his principal men, seated on a cushion, and covered with a robe of marten skins of the form and size of a woman's shawl. [f. lxviii, r] He wore a crown of feathers on his head; and round about him were many Indians playing and singing. As soon as he came to the governor, he saluted him and addressed the following words to him: "¶Excellent and powerful "Lord, superior to all those of the "earth: Although now I come to wel- "come you, long ago I have welcomed "you in my heart, namely, from the "day on which I heard of your Lord- "ship. With so great a desire, joy, "and happiness to serve you, what I "show is nothing compared to what I "feel, nor could it have any compari- "son. You may consider it as true "that to receive dominion over the 146

"world would not gladden me so much
"as does the sight of you; nor should
"I consider it as great happiness. Do
"not expect me to offer you what is
"yours, namely, my person, lands
"and vas[f. lxviii, v]sals. I wish only
"to occupy myself in commanding my
"people to welcome you with all dili-
"gence and due reverence from this
"place to the town with music and
"singing, where your Lordship will
"be lodged and served by me and by
"them; and you will do with all I pos-
"sess as though it were your own
"for, if your Lordship so do, I shall
"be favored." The governor thanked
him, and both talking together very
joyfully, they went on to the town. He
ordered his Indians to move out of
their dwellings, in which the governor
and his men were lodged. In the bar-
bacoas and fields there was a great
quantity of maize and beans. The land
was very populous and had many
large towns and planted fields which
reached from one town to the other. It
was a charming and fertile land, with

good cultivated fields stretching along the rivers. In the open fields were many [f. lxix, r] plums, both those of Spain and those of the land, and grapes along the rivers on vines climbing up into the trees. Beyond the streams were the low stocks of large, sweet grapes, but because they were not cultivated or well taken care of, they had large seeds. The governor 147
was accustomed to place a guard over the caciques so that they might not go away, and took them along with him until leaving their land; for by taking them, the people would await in their towns and they would give a guide and Indians as carriers. Before departing from their lands, he would give them leave to return to their homes—as well as the tamemes—as soon as he reached another dominion where others were given to him. Those of Coça seeing their lord detained, thought ill of it and revolted and went away to hide themselves in the woods—both those of their lord's town and those of [f. lxix, v] other chief towns, who were

his vassals. The governor sent four captains, each in a different direction, to look for them. They seized many Indians, men and women, who were put in chains. Upon seeing the harm they received and how little they gained in absenting themselves, they came, saying that they wished to serve in whatever might be commanded them. Some of the principal men among those imprisoned were set free on petition of the cacique. Of the rest, each man took away as slaves those he had in chains, without allowing them to go to their lands. Nor did any of them return except some whose good fortune and assiduous industry aided them, who managed to file off their chains at night; or some, who were able, while on the march, to wander away from the road upon observing any lack of care in their guard, who went off with their chains and with their loads and the clothes they were
148 carrying.

[f. lxx, r]

¶ Chapter XVII. How the governor went from Coça to Tastaluca. [sic]

THE governor rested in Coça for twenty-five days. He set out on Friday, August 20, to look for a province, by name, Tascaluca, 149 taking the cacique of Coça with him. That day he passed through a large town called Tallimuchase, which was without people. He 150 went to sleep a half league beyond near a stream. Next day he reached a town called Ytaua, subject to Coça. 151 He stayed there for six days because of a river which ran hard by the town, and was swollen at that time. As soon as the river allowed crossing, he set out, and [f. lxx, v] went to sleep at a town called Ullibahali. Ten or twelve 152 of the principal Indians, all with feather plumes, and with bows and arrows, came to him on the road bearing a message on the part of the caci-

que of that province, to offer themselves to him. The governor, on reaching the town with twelve horse and some foot belonging to his guard, for he had left his men a crossbow-flight from town, entered therein and found all the Indians under arms; and judging from their manner, he thought them evilly disposed. It was learned later that they had concerted to take the cacique of Coça out of the governor's possession, if he / should request this of them. [the cacique] The governor ordered all his men to enter the town which was enclosed and near which flowed a small river. The enclosure, like that in other towns seen there afterward, was of thick logs, [f. lxxi, r] set solidly close together in the ground, and many long poles as thick as an arm placed crosswise. The height of the enclosure was that of a good lance, and it was plastered within and without and had loopholes. On the other side of the river was a town where the cacique was at the time. The governor ordered him to be summoned and he

came immediately. After exchanging some verbal promises with the governor, he gave him the necessary tamemes and thirty Indian women as slaves. A Christian of noble parentage, named Manzano, a native of Salamanca, who wandered away to look for grapes which are abundant and excellent there, was lost in that place. 153
On the day the governor set out thence, he went to sleep at a town subject to the lord of Ullibahalli, and next day reached another called Toasi. [f. lxxi, v] 154
The Indians gave the governor thirty Indian women and the necessary tamemes. He marched ordinarily five or six leagues daily when going through a peopled region, and as much as he could through a depopulated region, in order to avoid the necessity of a lack of maize. From Toasi, passing through some towns subject to a cacique, the lord of a province called Talise, he marched for five days. He 155
reached Talise on September 18. The town was large and was located near a deep river. On the other side of the

river were other towns and many fields of maize. On both sides, it was a land very well supplied with maize in abundance. They / had abandoned [the inhabitants] the town. The governor ordered the cacique summoned. He came and an exchange of words of courtesy and [f. lxxii, r] of promises took place between them. He gave him / the service of for- [the governor] ty Indians. At that town one of the 156 principal Indians came to the gover- nor in the name of the cacique of Tas- caluca and spoke to him as follows: "Very powerful, virtuous, and es- "teemed Lord: The great cacique of "Tascaluca, my lord, orders me to "kiss your Lordship's hands and to "report to you that he is aware that "you deservedly excel all those of the "land, because of your perfections "and power; that all, wherever your "Lordship goes, serve and obey you, "which he knows is your due. He de- "sires as he does life to see and serve "your Lordship. Therefore, he sends "to offer with his person his land and "his vassals, in order that whenever

"your Lordship should please to go
"through his lands, you may be re-
"ceived in all peace and love, and be
"served and obeyed; and that [f. lxxii, v]
"as payment of this desire which he
"has to serve you, you grant him the
"favor of informing him when you
"will come, for the earlier you come
"the greater favor and happiness will
"he receive." The governor received
and dismissed him graciously, giving
him some beads (which were not much
regarded among them) and other piec-
es of cloth to take to his lord; and gave
the cacique of Coça permission to re-
turn to his lands. The cacique of Tal-
lise gave him the tamemes necessary;
and after resting there for twenty days
he set out for Tascaluca. The day he
left Tallise, he went to sleep at a large
town called Casiste, and next day he 157
passed through another town and
reached a small town of Tascaluca.
The next day he slept in a wood two
leagues from the town where the caci-
que lived and was at that time. He sent 158
[f. lxxiii, r] the maestre de campo, Luis

de Moscoso, with fifteen horse to inform him that he was coming. The cacique was in his dwelling under a balcony. Outside, in front of his dwelling, on an elevated place, was spread a mat for him and on it two cushions, one above the other, where he came to seat himself. His Indians gathered about him, separated somewhat, so that they formed a courtyard and open space where he was—his most principal Indians being nearest him, and one holding a sort of fan of deerskin which kept the sun from him, round and the size of a shield, quartered with black and white, with a cross made in the middle. From a distance it looked like taffeta, for the colors were very perfect. It was set on a small and very long staff. This was the device he bore in his [f. lxxiii, v] wars. He was a man, very tall of body, large limbed,
159 lean, and well built. He was greatly feared by his neighbors and vassals. He was lord of many lands and many people. In his aspect he was very dignified. After the maestre de campo

talked with him, he / and his men came, galloped their horses in front of him, turning them from one side to the other, and at times toward the cacique. He with great gravity and unconcern from time to time raised his eyes and looked as if in disdain. The governor arrived but he made no movement to arise. The governor took him by the hand and both went to seat themselves on a seat below the balcony. The cacique spoke to him as follows: "¶ Powerful Lord: May the coming "of your Lordship [f. lxxiiii, r] be very "propitious. At sight of you, I receive "as great pleasure and happiness as "if you were one of my brothers whom "I hold in great affection. Regarding "this, it is unnecessary to discuss fur= "ther, for it is not wise to utter in many "words what can be said in few; for as "it is one's desire that determines "deeds, and deeds give testimony of "truth, therefore you will perceive "how determined and clear is my will "to serve you, and how pure my mo= "tive. The favor which you showed me

[the maestre de campo]

160

"by reason of the pieces of cloth which
"you sent me, I esteem as much as it
"is proper to esteem them, and chief-
"ly because they were yours. Now,
"see in what you may command me to
"serve you." The governor made him
happy with pleasing and very brief
words. When he set out thence, he
determined, for several reasons, to
[the cacique] take him / [f. lxxiiii, v] with him. After a
march of two days he reached a town
161 called Piache. Near it flowed a large
river. The governor asked the Indi-
ans for canoes. They said that they
did not have any, but that they would
make rafts of canes and dry wood on
which he could cross. Diligently and
quickly they made them and steered
them; and since the water was quiet,
the governor and his men crossed in
great safety. From the port of Espi-
ritu Santo to Palache—a distance of
about one hundred leagues—the gov-
ernor marched from east to west;
from Apalache to Cutifachiqui—a dis-
tance of about four hundred and thir-
ty leagues—from southwest to north-

east; from Cutifachiqui to Xualla—a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues—from south to north; and from Xualla to Tascaluca—a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues also—he marched one hundred and ninety from east to west, namely, to the [f.lxxv,r] province of Coça, and sixty from Coça to Tascaluca from north to south. After crossing the river of Piache, a Christian left the ranks there and went to look for an Indian woman who had escaped from him, and the Indians captured or killed him. The governor urged the cacique to inform him of the man and threatened him that if he did not appear, he would never let him / go. The cacique sent an Indian from that place to Mavilla, whither they were marching—a town of one of the principal Indians, his vassal—saying that he was sending him / to advise him / to have provisions prepared and Indians for carrying; but as it afterward appeared he ordered him to assemble there all the warriors whom he had in his land.

162 [the cacique]

163 [the messenger] [his vassal]

The governor marched for three days, the third day through a continuously peopled region. He reached Mavilla on Monday, the [f. lxxv, v] eighteenth of
164 October, he going in the vanguard with
165 fifteen horse and thirty foot. A Christian, whom he had sent with a message to the chief three or four days before, in order that the latter might not go away, and also in order to see the disposition of the Indians, came out of
[the governor] the town. He told him / that it appeared
[the messenger] [the Indians] to him / that they / were evilly disposed, because when he was there many men and many arms had entered the town and they had made great haste to strengthen the stockade. Luis de Moscoso told the governor that it would be well to camp in the open field since the Indians were so disposed. The governor answered that he would lodge in the town, and that he was tired out with sleeping in the open field. On his arrival near the town, the cacique came out to welcome him with many Indians playing music and singing, and after [f. lxxvi, r] ten-

dering his services to him, gave him three blankets of marten skin. The governor, with the caciques and with seven or eight men from his guard, and three or four horse, who dismounted in order to accompany him, entered the town and seated himself under a balcony. The cacique of Tascaluca asked him to let him stay in that town and not to give him more trouble of marching; and seeing by his talk that he did not grant him permission, changed his purpose and dissembling, pretended that he wished to talk with some of the principal Indians. He rose from the place where he was with the governor, and entered a house where were many Indians with their bows and arrows. When the governor saw that he did not come, he called him, but he said that he would not come out of there and that he would not leave that town [f. lxxvi, v] and that if he / wished to go in peace he should go immediately and should not insist on trying to take him out of his lands and dominion by force. [the governor]

¶ Chapter XVIII. How the Indians rose against the governor and of what happened.

THE governor, on seeing the determination and furious reply of the cacique, endeavored to soothe him with pleasant words. To them he made no reply but, on the contrary, he withdrew very haughtily and disdainfully to a place where the governor could not see or talk with him. As one of the principal Indians was passing that place, the governor called him to him in order to send him to tell him / that he could stay and welcome in his land, but that he should consider it well [f. lxxvii, r] to have a guide and Indians for carrying sent him, in order to see whether he could pacify him / with soft words. The Indian with great haughtiness said that he would not do it. Baltasar de Gallegos, who was there, seized him roughly by a cloak of mar-

[the cacique]

[the cacique]

ten skin which he wore as a covering, but he slipped it off over his head and left it in his / hands. And because all the Indians straightway rose in revolt, Baltasar de Gallegos gave him a slash which opened up his back. Immediately, all the Indians came out from the houses shouting loudly and discharging their arrows. The governor seeing that he could not escape if he stayed there, and that if he should order his men who were outside the town to enter, the Indians could kill the horses for him from inside the houses and do much damage, went out running; but before getting out of the town, he fell two or three times [f. lxxvii, v], and those who were with him helped him to rise. He and those with him were severely wounded. In the town five Christians were immediately slain. The governor went out from the town shouting for all his men to go outside, for they were doing him much damage from the stockade. The Indians seeing that the Christians were withdrawing but some or most of them

[Gallegos's]

neverthelesse at a walk, with great boldness continued to shoot at them and to bring down those they could overtake. The Indians, whom the Christians were bringing in chains, had set down their loads near the stockade, and as soon as the governor and his men became separated, those of Mavilla put the loads on their backs
[the Indians] and took them / within the town and immediately freed them from their chains and gave them bows and arrows with which to fight. In this way they got possession of all the clothing [f. lxxviii, r] and pearls, and everything the Christians had and which their Indians were carrying for them. And inasmuch as the Indians had been
[of the Christians] peaceful thitherto, some / were bringing their weapons in the packs and were left without arms. From others of those who had entered with the gov-
[the Indians] ernor, they / took away their swords and halberds and fought therewith. When the governor found himself in the open field, he asked for a horse, and with some men who accompanied

him, turned about and struck two or three Indians through with a lance. Most of the Indians withdrew into the town and continued to shoot their arrows from the stockade. Those who dared would insolently go out to fight for the distance of a stone's throw; and from there would again retire from time to time when the Christians turned on them. At the time when the return / began, there were a friar and a secular priest in the town, as well as a servant of the governor with a [f. lxxviii, v] slave woman, and they did not have time to go outside but shut themselves in their house. Thus they remained inside the town after the Indians got control of it. They closed the door with a grating; and they had one sword among them, which the governor's servant owned. He stationed himself behind the door with it, thrusting at the Indians who tried to effect an entrance; with the friar and the secular priest, on the other side, each with a club in his hands, to strike down whomever might first enter.

[of the Christians]

The Indians, seeing that they could not enter through the door, began to uncover the house at the top. At this time, all the horse and foot who came marching behind, happened to reach Mavilla. They were of different opinions there as to whether they should attack the Indians in order to enter into the town or whether this should be avoided as [f. lxxix, r] the entrance was doubtful, but at last, it was decided to attack them.

¶ Chapter XIX. How the governor drew his men up in order and entered the town of Mavilla.

AS soon as the battle line and rearguard reached Mavilla, the governor ordered all those who were best armed to dismount and made four companies of foot. The Indians, on seeing how the governor was drawing up his men, urged the cacique to leave, telling him, as was later learned from

some Indian women who were captured there, that he was only one man and could fight for one only; that there were many principal men of the Indians there, very daring and skilful in mat[f. lxxix, v]ters of war, any of whom could direct all the other men; that since matters of war and victory were a hazard of fortune and there was no certainty as to which of the sides would be victorious, he should endeavor to place his person in safety, so that if they should end their lives there as they had resolved to do rather than allow themselves to be vanquished, he would be left to govern the land. However, he refused to go, but so much did they urge him that he went out of the town with twenty or thirty of his Indians. From the clothing of the Christians he took a scarlet cloak and some other pieces—all that he could carry and which pleased him most. The governor was advised that the Indians were going out of the town, and he ordered those who were mounted to surround it. In each foot

company, he ordered a soldier with a firebrand to set fire to the houses [f. lxxx, r] so that the Indians would have no shelter. Having arranged all his men in order, he ordered an arquebus fired. At the signal, all four companies, each in its own position, attacked with great fury and doing great damage entered the town from one side and the other. The friar and the secular priest and those who were with them in the house, were rescued, which cost the life of two men of ability and courage who went thither to help them. The Indians fought with so great spirit that they drove us outside again and again. It took them so long to get back that many of the Christians, tired out and suffering great thirst, went to get a drink at a pond located near the stockade, but it was tinged with the blood of the dead and they returned to the fight. The governor seeing this, with those who accompanied him [f. lxxx, v], entered the town on horseback together with the returning foot. This gave an oppor-

tunity for the Christians to succeed in setting fire to the houses and overthrow and defeat the Indians. As the latter fled outside the town from those on foot, those on horse again drove them within the gates, where having lost hopes of escape, they fought courageously; and after the Christians had come among them cutting with the sword, seeing that they were assailed beyond repair, many fled into the burning houses where piled up one on top of the other they were suffocated and burned to death. In all, those who were killed there numbered two thousand five hundred or thereabout. Of the Christians eighteen were killed there, one of whom was Don Carlos, the governor's brother-in-law, another, his nephew, another, Juan [f. lxxxi, r] Gamez, / Mem Rodriguez, a Portuguese, and Juan Vázquez of Villanova de Barcarota—all men of honor and pride. The others / were foot soldiers. Besides those killed, one hundred and fifty Christians were wounded, receiving seven hundred ar-

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[and others including]

[killed]

row wounds. It was God's will that they were healed shortly of very dangerous wounds. Twelve horses were also killed and seventy wounded. All the clothing carried by the Christians, the ornaments for saying mass, and the pearls were all burned there. The Christians set fire to them; for they considered as more annoying the hurt which the Indians could do them from within the houses where everything
167 was gathered together. The governor learned there that Francisco Maldonado was awaiting him in the port of
[Ochuse] Ochuse and that it / was six days' journey from there. He arranged with Juan Ortiz that he should keep [f. lxxxi, v] still about it, so that the men might not oppose his determination, and because the pearls which he desired to send to Cuba as samples had
[of the ship] been burned; for if the news / were noised about the men might desire to
[Cuba] go to that land /. And fearing that if news were heard of him, unless they saw gold or silver, or anything of val-
[Florida] ue, it / would acquire such a reputa-

tion that no man would desire to go thither when people might be needed, consequently, he determined not to give news of himself so long as he did not find a rich land.

¶ Chapter XX. How the governor set out from Mavilla for Chicaça, and of what happened to him.

FRom the time the governor entered Florida until leaving Mavilla, one hundred and two Christians had died, some, of their [f.lxxxii, r] illnesses and others being killed by the Indians. He remained in Mavilla for twenty-eight days because of the wounded, during which he was always in the open field. It was a very populous and fertile land. There were some large enclosed towns and a considerable population scattered about over the field, the houses being separated from one another one or two crossbow-flights. On Sunday, November 18, now that it was 168

learned that our wounded men were getting well, the governor set out from Mavilla, all the men having provided themselves with maize for two days. They marched for five days through an unpeopled region, and arrived at a province called Pafallaya and a town called Taliepatava. Thence, they went
169 to another town by name Cabusto, near which flowed a large river. The Indians on the other side of it gave loud cries, telling the Christians that if they crossed over the river to them they would have [f. lxxxii, v] to kill them. The governor ordered a piragua built inside the town, so that the Indians might not perceive it. It was made in four days. When it was finished, he ordered it to be transported one night a half league up stream. In the morning, thirty well armed men entered it. The Indians perceived what was being planned and those who were nearest ran up to forbid the crossing. They resisted it as well as they could until the Christians were near them; and seeing that the piragua was about to land fled

through some canebrakes. The Christians mounted their horses and went upstream to assure a crossing where the governor, with all those who remained with him, crossed over. Along the river, were some towns well provided with maize and beans. From that place to Chicaça, the governor marched [f. lxxxiii, r] for five days through an unpopulated region. He reached a river where some Indians on the other side tried to forbid him crossing. In two days another piragua was made. When it was finished, the governor ordered an Indian to announce to the cacique that he should desire his friendship and should await him peacefully. But the Indians on the other side of the river killed him in his / sight, and immediately went away uttering loud cries. Having crossed the river next day, December 17, the governor reached Chicaça, a small town of twenty houses. After they were in Chicaça they suffered great hardships and cold, for it was already winter, and most of the men were

[the governor's]

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lodged in the open field in the snow before having any place where they could build houses. This land was very well peopled, the population being spread out as was that of Mavilla. It was fertile [f. lxxxiii, v] and abounding in maize, most of this being still in the fields. The amount necessary for passing the winter was gathered. Certain Indians were captured, among whom was one who was greatly esteemed by the cacique. By means of an Indian the governor sent word to the cacique that he desired to see him and wished his friendship. The cacique came to offer himself to him, together with his person, land, and vassals. He said that he would cause two caciques to come in peace. A few days afterward they came with him accompanied by their Indians, one being named Alimamu and the other Micalasa. They presented the governor with one hundred and fifty rabbits and some clothing of their land, namely blankets and skins. The cacique of Chicaça came to visit him frequently and sometimes

the governor ordered him summoned and sent him a horse to go and come. He / made complaint to him /, that one of his vassals had risen against him [f. lxxxiiii, r] withholding his tribute and asked that he protect him against him, saying that he was about to go to seek him in his land and punish him as he deserved—all pretense, for it was planned that while the governor went with him and the camp was divided into two parts, some would attack the governor and others those who remained in Chicaça. He / went to the town where he lived and came with two hundred Indians with their bows and arrows. The governor took thirty horse and eighty foot and went to Saquechuma, as the province of the principal man was called, who he / told him / had rebelled against him. They found an enclosed town which had been abandoned by the Indians and those who were with the cacique set fire to the houses in order to conceal their treachery. But since the men taken by the governor were very

[the cacique] [the governor]

[the cacique]

171
[the cacique]
[the governor]

watchful and prudent, [f. lxxxiiii, v] as well as those who remained in Chicaça, on that occasion they did not dare attack us. The governor invited the cacique and certain of the principal Indians/and gave them some pork to eat. [to visit him] And although they were not accustomed to it, they lusted after it so much that Indians would come nightly to certain houses a crossbow-shot away from the camp where the hogs were sleeping and kill and carry off as many as they could. Three Indians were seized in the act, two of whom the governor ordered to be shot with arrows and the hands of the other cut off. In that condition he sent him to the cacique, who expressed regret that they had troubled the governor and was glad that justice had been executed on them. He / was in an open plain a half [the cacique] league from where the Christians were. Four of the horsemen went thither without orders, namely, Francisco [f. lxxxv, r] Osorio, a servant of the marquis de Astorga, named Reynoso, and two servants of the gover-

nor, one his page, named Ribera, and the other his chamberlain, named Fuentes. They seized some skins and blankets from the Indians, at which the latter were greatly offended and abandoned their houses. The governor learned of it and ordered them / seized. Francisco Osorio and the chamberlain, he sentenced to death, as being the principals, and all to the loss of their possessions. The friars and secular priests and other principal persons importuned him to leave Francisco Osorio alive, and to moderate the sentence, which he refused to do for any one. And while he was already giving the order to take them to the public place to behead them, certain Indians came who had been sent by the cacique to make complaint against them. Juan Ortiz, at the request of Baltasar de Ga[f. lxxxv, v]llegos and other persons, changed their words, telling the governor that the cacique said that he had learned that his Lordship had seized those Christians on his account; that they were

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[the four horsemen]

not guilty, nor had they done any
[Soto] wrong to him; that if he / would do him
a favor, he should let them go free. To
[Ortiz] the Indians, he / was to say that the
governor said that he had seized them
and would give them such punishment
that it would be an example to others.
The governor ordered the prisoners
released. As soon as March was come,
he determined to leave Chicaça and
asked the cacique for two hundred ta-
memes. The latter replied to him that
he would talk it over with his principal
men. On Tuesday, the eighth of
March, the governor went to where
the cacique was to ask him for the ta-
memes. He said he would send them
next day. As soon as the governor
came to Chi[f. lxxxvi, r]caça, he told
Luis de Moscoso, the maestre de cam-
po, that the Indians looked ill disposed
to him, and that that night he should
keep careful watch, which the latter
heeded but slightly. The Indians came
[i.e., second or sleepy watch] at the quarter of the modorra / in four
companies, each company coming
from a different direction. As soon as

they were perceived, they beat a drum, and with loud cries rushed forward, and so rapidly that they arrived at the same time as the spies who had carelessly gone out a distance from the camp; and when they were perceived by those who were within the town, half the houses were burning from the fire which they kindled. That night, three horsemen were by chance at watch, two of whom were of low degree, the most worthless of the camp, and the other was the governor's nephew, who until then had been considered a good man. There he proved himself as [f. lxxxvi, v] cowardly as each one of them /, for they all fled and the Indians not finding any resistance came and set fire to the town and awaited the Christians outside behind the doors, who came out of the houses without having time to arm themselves; and as they rose, maddened by the noise and blinded by the smoke and flame of the fire they did not know where they were going nor did they succeed in getting their arms or in

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[*i.e.*, the other two]

putting saddle on horse; neither did they see the Indians who were shooting at them. Many of the horses were burned in their stables, and those which could break their halters freed themselves. The confusion and rout were of such a nature that each one fled wherever it seemed safest, without any one resisting the Indians. But God who punishes His own as is His pleasure, and in the greatest needs and dangers holds them in His [f.lxxxvii, r] hand blinded the Indians so that they might not see what they had done, and they thought that the horses which were running about loose were the horsemen gathering together to assault them. The governor alone, and with him a soldier called Tapia, got mounted and attacked the Indians, and giving the first one he met a thrust with his lance, went down and his saddle with him; for in the haste he had badly fastened the girth and fell from his horse. All the men who were afoot and were in flight through a wood outside the town, sought protection there.

And as it was night and the Indians thought the horses, as abovesaid, were mounted men who were attacking them, they fled away and only one remained there dead, namely, the one the governor had struck with his lance. The town was consumed by fire. A woman was burned there who had gone there with her husband. [f. lxxxvii, v] Both of them going outside the house, she returned for some pearls which they had forgotten; and when she tried to get out, already the fire was at the door and she could not, and her husband could not help her. Three 174
other Christians got away from their houses so badly hurt by the fire that one of them died three days later and each of the other two was carried for many days in his bed upon some poles which the Indians carried on their shoulders, for they could not have journeyed in any other way. In that turn of fortune eleven Christians and fifty horses died. Of the swine, one hundred were left, and four hundred were burned. If, perchance, any one

still had had any clothing left from the fire at Mavilla, it was now all burned up in that place /; and many were naked, as they had no time to snatch their [Chicaça]
175 jerkins. There they endured [f. lxxxviii, r] great suffering from the cold, for which they got relief in large fires. The whole night was passed turning from one side to the other without sleeping, for if they were warmed on one side they froze on the other. They managed to make some mats out of dry grass, woven together, and placed one mat below and the other above. Many laughed at this contrivance, but afterward necessity forced them to do likewise. The Christians were become so demoralized, together with the lack of saddles and weapons, which had been burned, that if the Indians had returned the second night, they would have routed them with little trouble. They moved thence to the village where the cacique usually lived as it was a
176 site in the open field. A week later they had made many saddles and lances. There were some ash trees there from

which they were made as good as those of Vizcaya.

[f. lxxxviii, v]

¶ Chapter XXI. How the Indians again attacked the Christians; and how the governor went to Alimamu, where they awaited him on the way to the fight.

ON Wednesday, the 15th of March, 1541, 177
after the governor had been for a week in a level field, a half league from the place where he had lodged during the winter, having already set up a forge and having tempered the swords which had been burned in Chicaça and having made many shields, saddles, and lances, on Tuesday night, at the hour of dawn, many Indians came to attack the camp, formed into three companies, each company coming from a different direction. Those who were on watch sounded

the alarm. The governor, with great quickness, drew up [f. lxxxix, r] his men in order in three other companies, with some men staying behind to guard the camp, and hastened to the attack. The Indians were thrown into confusion and took to flight. The land was flat and suitable for the Christians to profit thereby. Already the dawn had come bright and clear, but there was some confusion which was the reason why they did not kill thirty or forty more Indians, namely, a friar in the camp raised a loud cry "To the camp! To the camp!" without any reason for so crying out. On that account, the governor and all the men ran to the rescue, and the Indians had time to get away safely. Some Indians were captured, from whom the governor got information relative to
178 the land beyond. On April 25, he left Chicaça and went to sleep at a small
179 village called Alimamu. It had very little maize and it was necessary [f. lxxxix, v] after leaving there to commit themselves to an unpopulated region

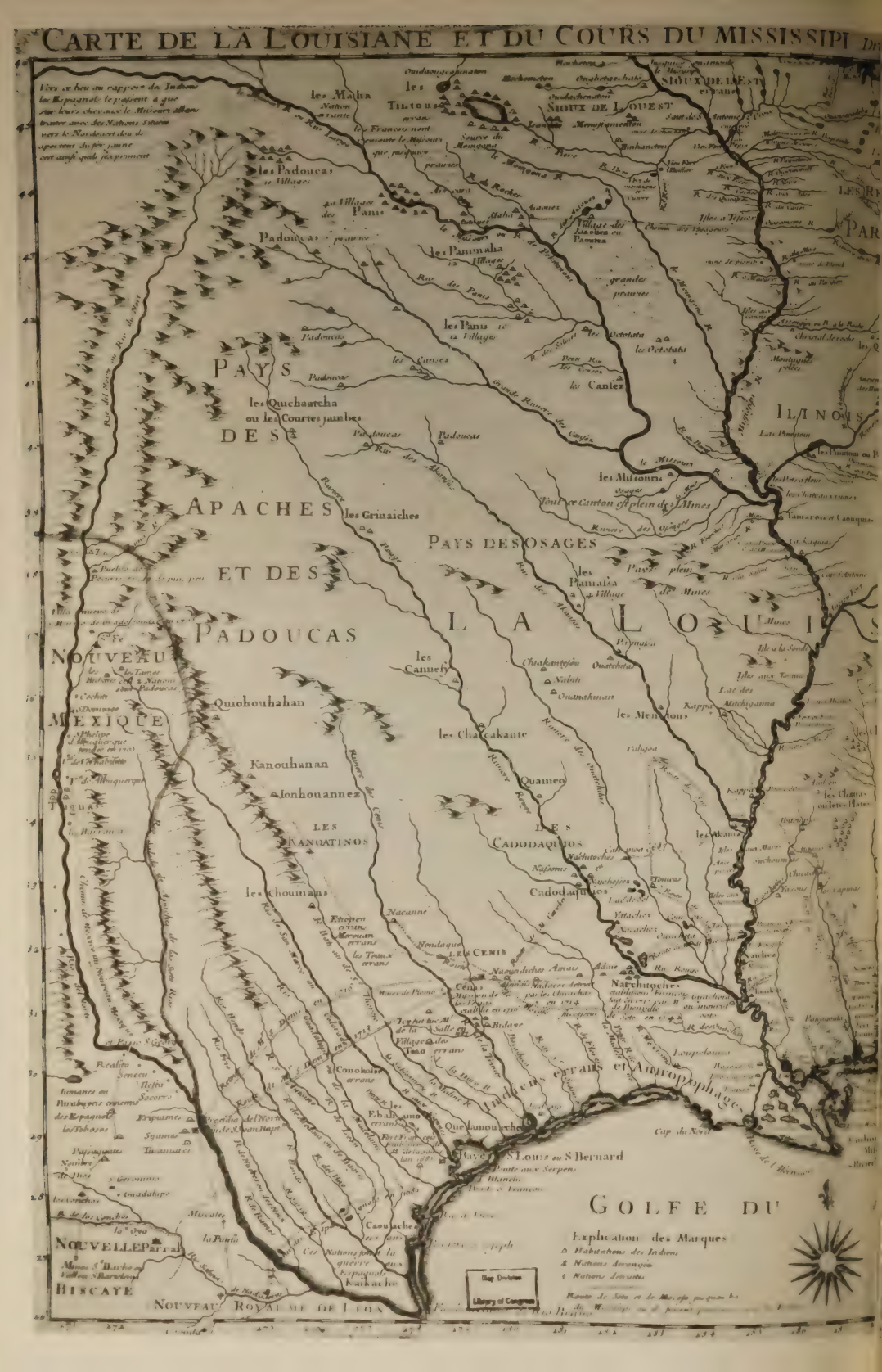
for seven days' journey. Next day, the governor sent three captains with horse and foot—each one taking a different direction—to search out provisions in order to cross the unpopulated region. Juan de Añasco, the accountant, went with fifteen horse and forty foot along the road where the governor was to go, and found a strong stockade where the Indians were waiting. On top of it, were many 180
armed men, daubed over with red ocher and with their bodies, legs, and arms painted black, white, yellow, and red, in the manner of stripes which made them look as though they were in breeches and doublet. Some had feather plumes on their heads and others horns, with their faces black and the eyes ringed round in red in order to look more ferocious. As soon as they saw the Christians [f. xc, r] approach, with loud cries and beating two drums, they came out in great fury to meet them. It seemed best to Juan de Añasco and those with him to keep away from them and to inform

the governor. They withdrew over a level ground for the distance of a crossbow-flight from the stockade and in sight of it. The men of foot, the crossbowmen, and those having shields placed themselves before the horsemen so that the horses might not be wounded. The Indians came out by sevens and eights to shoot their arrows and then to retire. In sight of the Christians, they made a fire and seized an Indian—one by the feet and others by the head and pretended they were going to throw him into the fire, first giving him many blows on the head, signifying that so they would do to the Christians. Juan de Añasco sent three horse to inform the governor. The latter came immediately and [f. xc, v] since he thought he should drive them thence saying that if he did not do so, they would become emboldened to attack him at a time when they could do him more hurt, he ordered the horsemen to dismount and having divided them into four companies gave the signal and they attacked the Indi-

ans. The latter resisted until the Christians reached the stockade; and as soon as they saw that they could not defend themselves they fled along a way where a stream flowed near the stockade, and from the other shore shot some arrows. And inasmuch as no crossing was found for the horses for the time being, they / had time to [the Indians] get away. Three Indians were killed there and many Christians were wounded, fifteen of whom died on the march a few days later. It seemed to all that the governor was much to blame in not having had an examination made of the disposition of the land which [f. xci, r] lay on the other side of the stream and of ascertaining the crossing before attacking them; for with their hope of escaping by flight in that direction whenever they might not be seen by his men, they fought until they were routed; and they were thus enabled to defend themselves until then and to offend the Christians with safety.

¶ Chapter XXII. How the governor went from Alimamu to Quizquiz and thence to a large river.

Three days having passed since they had looked for some maize (and it was little that was found in proportion to what was needed), and for this reason, even though rest was needed because of the wounded, on account of the great need of finding a place where there was maize, the governor was [f. xci, v] obliged to set out immediately
181 for Quizquiz. He marched seven days through an unpopulated region of many swamps and thick woods, but all passable on horseback except several marshes or swamps which were crossed by swimming. He reached the town of Quizquiz without being perceived. He seized all the people of the town before they got out of their houses. The cacique's mother was cap-
[the governor] tured there, and then he / sent to him


CARTE DE LA LOUISIANE ET DU COURS DU MISSISSIPI
Explication des Marques
Habitations des Indiens
Nations devanues
Nations detruites
les Quichaatcha ou les Courtes jambes
PAYS DES APACHES ET DES PADOUCAS
PAYS DES OSAGES
LA LOUISIANE
NOUVEAU MEXIQUE
les Padoucas
les Panimaha
les Panis
les Missouris
les Canzes
les Chacakante
les Cadodaquios
les Kanohouannez
les Choumans
les Kanohouannez
les Grinaiches
les Plumaches
les Canuets
les Metchoux
Quiohouhahan
Kanouhanan
Quameo
Nakitoches
Natchitoches errans et Anthropophages
Golfe du
S. Louis ou S. Bernard
Nouvelle Biscaye
Nouveau Royaume de Leon
Sioux de l'Ouest
Sioux de la Nation
les Illinois
les Panis
les Canzes
les Missouris
les Metchoux
les Cadodaquios
les Natchitoches
les Cenis
les Tonicas
les Ebahamo
les Conokaste
les Caouaches
les Karkaches
les Tohos
les Tohomes
les Maha
les Padoucas
les Panimaha
les Plumaches
les Grinaiches
les Canuets
les Chacakante
les Kanohouannez
les Choumans
les Cadodaquios
les Natchitoches
les Cenis
les Tonicas
les Ebahamo
les Conokaste
les Caouaches
les Karkaches
les Tohos
les Tohomes
les Maha

grand nombre de Memoires entrautres sur ceux de M.r le Maire Par Guill.me Delisle de l'Academie R.le des Scien.s
PERIJEUR Outaouat
Mississakinat
Mantoualin
LAC HURON
ou MICHIGANE
Algonquins
LAC MICHIGAN
CANADA ou NOUVELLE FRANCE
LAC ONTARIO
Fort la Motte
Lac Champlain
Nation du Petun detruite
Nation neutre detruite
Nation du Chat detruite par les Iroquois
Nation du Chat
Elle a été detruite par les Iroquois
LAC ERIE ou DU CHAT
IROQUOIS
Onontague
Onneyout
Oranges
Ejoge
Andastes
NOUVELLE YORK
PENSIL VANIE
Philadelphie
NEU JERSEY
MARILAN
Cap de Mase
Delawars
Stafford
Calvert
Borgiere
VIRGINIE
Accomack
Cap Northampton
Cap Charles
Entrée de Baye de Chelapeack
Henry
Albemarle
CAROLINE
Cap Fear
Clarendon
Cap de Lockeat
MER DU NORD
les Tongoria
les Chetaqui
les Miamis
les Pautouatamis
Conchatez
Conchaques
Apalachichy
les Talabouchi Amalsi
Caounta
Apalache
Mobile
Cap St Blaise
Dauphine
Isle de la Chandeleur
CARTE PARTICULIERE DES EMBOUCHURES DE LA RIVIE S. LOUIS ET DE LA MOBILE

/ one of the Indians who had been seized there, bidding him come to see him and / that he would give him his mother and all the other people who had been taken there. For reply, he / said that his Lordship should order them released and sent / and that he would come to visit and serve him. Inasmuch as his men were ill and weary for lack of maize and the horses were also weak, he / determined to pleasure him, in order to see whether he could [f. xcii, r] have peace with him. So he ordered the mother and all the others released and dispatched them and sent them / with words of kindness. Next day when the governor was awaiting the cacique, many Indians came with their bows and arrows with the intention of attacking the Christians. The governor ordered all the horsemen to be armed and mounted and all in readiness. When the Indians saw that they were on guard, they stopped a crossbow-flight from the spot where the governor was, near a stream, and after they had stayed

[the cacique]

[saying]

[the cacique]

[to him]

[Soto]

[to the cacique]

there for a half hour, six of the principal Indians came to the camp and said that they were come to see what people they were and that they had learned from their ancestors that a white race would inevitably subdue them; and that they were about to return to the cacique to tell him to come immediately [f. xcii, v] to render obedience and service to the governor. And after offering him six or seven skins and blankets which they brought they took leave of him and together with the others, who were waiting on the shore, returned. The cacique did not again come nor did he send another message. Inasmuch as there was little maize in the town where the governor was, he moved to another town located a half
182 league from the large river where maize was found in abundance. He went to see the river and found there was an abundance of timber near it from which piraguas could be constructed and an excellently situated land for establishing the camp. He immediately moved thither, houses

were built, and the camp was established on a level place, a crossbow-flight from the river. All the maize of all the towns behind was collected there and the men set to work immediately to cut timber and square the planks for canoes [f. xciii, r]. Immediately the Indians came down the river, landed, and told the governor that they were vassals of a great lord called Aquixo, who was lord of many towns and people on the other side of the river. On his behalf they informed him / [the governor]
that he / would come the next day with [the cacique]
all his men to see what his Lordship would command him. Then next day, the cacique came with two hundred canoes full of Indians with their bows and arrows, painted with red ocher and having great plumes of white and many colored feathers on either side / [of the canoes]
and holding shields in their hands with which they covered the paddlers, while the warriors were standing from prow to stern with their bows and arrows in their hands. The canoe in which the cacique came had an awning

[the cacique] spread in the stern and he / was seated under the [f. xciii,v] canopy. Also other canoes came bearing other Indian [of each canoe] notables. The chief / from his position under the canopy, controlled and gave orders to the other men. All the canoes were together and came to within a stone's throw from the bluff. From there, the cacique told the governor, who was walking along the river with others whom he had brought with him, that he had come to visit him and to serve and obey him, for he had heard that he was the greatest and most powerful lord of all the earth and that he should bethink him in what to command him. The governor thanked him and asked him to land so that they might better be able to talk, [the cacique] but without answering this, he / ordered three canoes to come up in which he brought a quantity of fish and loaves made of the pulp of plums in the shape of bricks. All having been [the governor] received, he / thanked him and [f. xciiii, r] again asked him to land. But since his intent was to see whether he might

do some damage by means of that pretense, upon seeing that the governor and his men were on their guard, they began to withdraw from land. With loud cries, the crossbowmen who were ready, shot at them and struck five or six. They withdrew in splendid order; no one abandoned his paddle even though the one near him fell. Flaunting themselves, they retired. Afterward they came frequently and landed, and when they / went toward them, they would return to their canoes. Those canoes were very pleasing to see, for they were very large and well built; and together with the awnings, the plumes of feathers, the shields, and banners, and the many men in them, they had the appearance of a beautiful [f. xciiii, v] fleet of galleys. During the thirty days the governor was there, they made four piraguas, in three of which, one early morning three hours before it became light, he ordered a dozen horse to enter, four to each one—men whom he was confident would succeed in gaining the land in

183

[the Christians]

spite of the Indians and assure the crossing or die in doing it—and with them some of foot—crossbowmen and rowers—to place them on the other side. In the other piragua, he ordered Juan de Guzmán to cross with men of foot, he having become captain in place of Francisco Maldonado. And because the current was strong, they went up stream along the shore for a quarter of a league and in crossing they were carried down with the current of the river and went to land opposite the place where the camp was. At a distance of two stones' throw before [f. xcv, r] reaching shore, the men of horse went from the piraguas on horseback to a sandy place of hard sand and clear ground where all the men landed without any accident. As soon as those who crossed first were on the other side, the piraguas returned immediately to where the governor was and, in two hours after the sun was up, all the men finished crossing. It / was nearly a half league wide, and if a man stood still on the

[the crossing]

other side, one could not tell whether he were a man or something else. It / was of great depth and of very strong current. Its water was always turgid and continually many trees and wood came down it borne along by the force of the water and current. It had abundance of fish of various kinds, and most of them different from those of the fresh waters of Spain as will be told hereafter. [the river] 184

[f. xcv, v]

¶ Chapter XXIII. How the governor went from Aquixo to Casqui and thence to Pac/ha; and how that land differs from that behind. [a]

Having got across the great river, the governor marched a league and a half and reached a large town of Aquixo, which was abandoned before his arrival. Over a plain they saw thirty Indians coming whom the cacique had

sent to learn what the Christians were intending to do, but as soon as the latter had sight of them they fled. Those of horse pursued them killing ten and capturing fifteen. And since the town whither the governor was marching, was near the river, he sent a captain with the men he deemed sufficient to take the piraguas up stream. And because by [f. xcvi, r] land they frequently turned away from the river in order to get around arms which thrust out of the river, the Indians had opportunity to attack those in the piraguas and put us in great danger. For, because of the strong current of the river, they did not dare to go any distance from land and they / shot arrows at them from the bluff. As soon as the governor reached the town, he immediately sent some crossbowmen down stream who were to come as his rearguard. When the piraguas reached the town, he / ordered them taken apart and the nails kept for other piraguas when they might be needed. He slept there one night and next day

[the Indians]

[the governor]

marched in search of a province called Pac/ha, which he was informed lay near Chisca where the Indians said there was gold. He marched through large towns in Aquixo which had been abandoned for fear of the Christians. [f. xcvi, v] From some Indians who were captured, he learned that a great cacique lived three days' journey thence, called Casqui. He reached a small river where a bridge was made on which he crossed. On that day, they walked continually through water until sunset, which in places reached to the middle and in places to the knee. When they came to dry land, they were very glad, for it seemed to them that they would be walking about lost through the water all night. At noon they arrived at the first town of Casqui. They found the Indians off guard for they had not heard of them/. Many Indians, both men and women, were seized, besides a quantity of clothing —blankets and skins— both in the first town and in another which was within sight of it / in an open field a half

[a]

185

186

[the Christians]

[the first town]

league from it, whither the horsemen had galloped. That land is more [f.xcvii, r] high, dry, and level than the land of the river behind which they had thus far seen. In the open field were many walnut trees with soft nuts shaped
187 like acorns; and in the houses were found many which the Indians had stored away. The walnut trees did not differ in any other way from those of Spain, nor from those seen before except only in having a smaller leaf. There were many mulberry trees and plum trees having red plums like those
188 of Spain, and others gray, differing, but much better, and all the trees as verdant all year as if set out in gardens and in a clear grove. For two days the governor marched through the land of
189 Casqui before arriving at the town where the cacique was, and most of the way continually through land of open field, very well peopled with large [f. xcvii, v] towns, two or three of which were to be seen from one town. He sent word to the cacique through an Indian that he was coming to where

he was for the purpose of procuring his friendship and of considering him as a brother. To which he / answered that he / would be welcome, that he would receive him with special pleasure, and that he would do everything his Lordship ordered. He sent his offerings to him on the road, namely, skins and blankets and fish. After these gifts, the governor found all the towns through which he passed inhabited, in which the Indians were awaiting him peacefully and offered him blankets and skins and fish. The cacique, accompanied by many Indians came out from the town where he was living for a half league on the road to welcome the governor, and meeting him spoke as follows: "¶ Very lofty, "powerful, and il[f. xcviii, r]lustrious "Lord: May the coming of Your "Lordship be very propitious. As "soon as I had notice of your Lord"ship, of your power and perfections, "although you entered my land killing "and making captive the inhabitants "of it and my vassals, I resolved to

[the cacique]
[the governor]

"conform my will to yours, and as
"yours to consider as good all that
"your Lordship might do; believing
"that it is proper that it might be so
"for some just consideration, in order
"to provide for some future event, re=
"vealed to your Lordship, but con=
"cealed from me; for, indeed, one evil
"may be permitted in order to avoid
"another greater evil, and therefrom
"good may result; which I believe will
"be so, for from so excellent a prince
"it is not right to presume that the no=
"bility of your heart and the effect of
"your goodwill would allow you to
"permit an injustice. My capacity to
"serve you as your Lordship merits
"is so slight that if my goodwill [f.xcviii,
"v] should abundantly and humbly
"offer every kind of service, you would
[thereby] "acquire no honor /. In your Lord=
"ship's presence, I merit very little.
"But if it is proper that that capacity
"may be esteemed, may you receive it,
"and me and my land and vassals as
"your own, and of me and them make
"use according to your pleasure; for

"if I were lord of all the world, your "Lordship would be received, served, "and obeyed with the same goodwill." The governor replied to him fittingly and in few words made him happy. For a while after that, they both went on exchanging words generous in of= fers and of great courtesy, and he / [the cacique]
begging that he / should lodge in his [the governor]
houses. The governor, in order to pre= serve peace better, excused himself, by saying that he preferred to lodge in the open field; and because the heat was very great, the camp was estab= lished a quarter league from the town among some trees. [f. xcix, r] The caci= que went to his town and returned with many Indians singing. As soon as they came to the governor, they all bowed themselves to the ground. A= mong them were two blind Indians. The cacique made a speech which, in order not to be prolix, I will relate in a few words only the substance of the matter. He said that since he / was the [the governor]
son of the sun and a great lord, he begged him to do him the favor of giv=

ing health to those blind Indians. The blind men immediately rose and with great earnestness begged this of the governor. He replied saying that in the lofty heaven was He who had power to give them health and everything they might ask of Him; whose servant [the governor] he / was; and that that Lord made the heavens and the earth and man in His likeness; that He suffered on the tree of the true cross to save the human race, and rose again on the third [f. xcix, v] day; that inasmuch as He was man He died, and inasmuch as He was divinity, He is immortal; that He ascended to heaven where He was with open arms in order to receive all those who wished to be converted to Him. [the governor] [the cacique] He / immediately ordered him / to make a very high wooden cross which was set up in the highest part of the [the governor] town, / declaring to him that the Christians adored it in conformity to, and in memory of, that on which Christ suf- 190 fered. The governor and his men knelt before it and the Indians did the same. [the cacique] The governor told him / that thence-

forth they should adore and beg the Lord, of whom he had told them and who was in the heaven, for everything of which they had need. He asked him / how far it was from there to Pacaha. He said it was a day's journey and that on the edge of his land was a marsh like an estuary which [f. c, r] gave into the large river; that he would send men to build in advance a bridge by which he might cross. The day on which the governor left, he went to sleep at a town of Casqui; and the next day he passed in sight of the other towns and reached the swamp, which was half a crossbow-flight in width and very deep and flowing. When he reached it, the Indians had just finished building the bridge, which was constructed of wood in the manner of beams / extending from tree to tree, and at one of the sides a line of wood higher than the bridge in order to support those who should cross. The cacique of Casqui went to the governor and took his men with him. The governor sent word by an Indian to the cacique of Pacaha that

[the cacique]

191

[viroes]

[the cacique of Pacaha] although he / was hostile to the cacique of Casqui and the latter should be there, he would make no quarrel with him or do him no harm if he waited peacefully and wished [f. c, v] his friendship, but that he would treat him as a brother. The Indian whom the governor had sent came and said that the cacique gave no heed to what he had told him but that he had gone away in flight with all his people out of the other side of the town. The governor immediately entered and together with the men of horse charged ahead where the Indians were fleeing; and at another town situated a quarter of a league from that place captured many Indians. And as the horsemen captured them, they delivered them over to the Indians of Casqui, who being their enemies carefully and with great pleasure took them to the town where the Christians were; and the greatest sorrow they had was in not having permission to kill them. Many blankets, deer, lion, and bear skins, and many

[of the men] cat skins were found in town. Many /

were [f. ci, r] still poorly clad and there clothed themselves. From the blankets were made loose coats and cassocks; and some made gowns and lined them with the catskins, as well as the cassocks. From the deerskins were also made some jerkins, shirts, stockings, and shoes and from the bearskins very good cloaks, for water would not go through them. They found there shields made of raw cowhide with which the horses were provided with armor.

¶ Chapter XXIIII. How the cacique of Pacaha came in peace, and he of Casqui went away and returned to excuse himself; and how the governor made him and the cacique of Pacaha friends.

194 n Wednesday, June 19, the governor entered Pacaha. He lodged in the town where [f. ci, v] the cacique lived, which was very large, enclosed, and furnished with towers; and in the towers and stockade many loopholes. In the town was abundance of old maize and new maize in the maize fields in great quantity. Located at a league and half a league were large towns, all enclosed. Where the governor was lodged, there was a large marsh which came near to the enclosure, and entered through a ditch round about the town so that but little of the town remained to enclose.

A channel had been made from the marsh to the large river through which the fish entered the former. This the cacique had there for his recreation and pleasure. As many fish as they wished were caught with nets which were found in the town; and however many of them were drawn out, there was never lack of them found. In many other swamps thereabout, there were also many fish, but [f. cii, r] they were soft and not so good as those which came from the river, and most of them were different from those of the fresh water of Spain. There was a fish called "bagre," a third of which was head; and it had large spines like a sharp shoemaker's awl at either side of its throat and along the sides. Those of them which were in the water were as large as a "pico." In the river, there were some of one hundred and one hundred and fifty pounds. Many of them were caught with the hook. Another fish resembled the "barbel" /; [*barbo*] and others were like the "choupa," with a head like that of the "besugo"

and between russet and brown. This was the one that was most relished. There was another fish called the "pexe palla." Its snout was a cubit in length and the tip of its upper lip was shaped like a shovel. There was another fish which resembled a shad. / [f. cii, v] All had scales except the "bagres" and the "pexe palla." There was another fish which the Indians brought sometimes, of the size of a hog called "pexe pereo". It had rows of teeth below and above. The cacique of Casqui frequently sent gifts of fish in abundance, and blankets, and skins. He told the governor that he would give the cacique of Pacaha into his hands. He went to Casqui, ordered many canoes brought up the river, while he went overland with many of his people. The governor, with forty of horse and sixty of foot took him / with him up the river. His Indians who were in the canoes discovered where the cacique of Pacaha was on an islet between two arms of the river. Five Christians embarked in a canoe, [f. ciii, r] among

[*savel*]

195

[the cacique]

whom went Don Antonio Osorio, going ahead to see what people the cacique had with himself. There were five or six thousand souls on the islet. As soon as they saw them, thinking that the Indians in the canoes were Christians also, the cacique and those who belonged to three canoes they had there, fled in great haste to the other side of the river. The rest, in great fear and confusion, betook themselves hastily to the water swimming, where many people were drowned, principally women and children. Then the governor, who was on land, not knowing what was happening to Don Antonio and those who went with him, ordered Christians and Indians to enter with great haste in the canoes of the Indians of Casqui; and they immediately went to Don Antonio on the islet where they captured many Indians—men and women—and a quantity of clothing, from the abundance of cloth[ing which the Indians / had in hurdles and on wooden rafts in order to take it across from [f.ciii,v] [of Pacaha]

the other side. It went floating down stream; and the Indians of Casqui filled their canoes with it. And fearing lest the Christians would seize it, the cacique and his men went down stream with them to his land without taking leave of the governor. On that account the governor was indignant at him. Immediately returning to Pacaha, two leagues away, along the road from Casqui, he made a raid, on which he seized twenty or thirty of his / Indians. [the cacique's] And because the horses were tired and there was no time to go farther that day, he returned to Pacaha, planning to attack Casqui from there three or four days later. He immediately released one of the Indians of Pacaha, and sent him to tell the cacique that if he wished for his friendship he should [f. ciiii, r] come to him and that they would go to make war on Casqui. Immediately many of the Indians of Pacaha came and brought an Indian under the name of cacique, which was revealed by a brother of the cacique who was a prisoner. The

governor told the Indians that their lord should come, for he knew well that that one was not he, and that they could do nothing that he did not know before they thought of it. Next day came the cacique accompanied by many Indians bringing a gift of many fish, skins, and blankets. He made a talk which all were glad to hear and concluded by saying that even though his lordship had wrought damage to his land and vassals without him having deserved it, nevertheless he would not cease to be his, and would always be at his service. The governor[f.ciiii,v] ordered his brother and some others of the principal Indians whom he had captured to be released. That day came an Indian on the part of the cacique of Casqui and said that his lord would come immediately next day in order to beg pardon for the error he had committed in having gone away without the governor's permission. The governor told him / to tell him / that if he did not come in his own proper person he would go to get him and give

[the Indian messenger] [the cacique of Casqui]

him the punishment he deserved. Immediately next day came the cacique of Casqui, and made the governor a gift of many blankets, skins, and fish. He gave him one of his daughters, saying that his greatest desire was to unite his blood with that of so great a lord as he was. On that account he brought his daughter and begged him to take her as his wife. He made a long and discreet argument, praising him highly, [f. cv, r] and concluded by asking that he pardon him by the love of that cross which he had left him for having gone off without his permission; that he had gone away for shame of what his people had done without his consent. The governor answered him saying that he had taken a good protector and that if he had not come to beg pardon, he had planned to go to get him and burn his towns for him and kill him and his people and ravage his land for him. He replied to him saying: "Lord, I and mine are your "Lordship's, and my land is yours. "Therefore, if you should go, you

"would destroy your own land and kill
"your own people. All that comes to
"me from your hand, I shall receive
"as from my lord, both punishment
"and favor. I know that what you did
"for me in leaving me that cross, I
"consider a very notable thing and
"greater than I have ever deserved.
"[f. cv, v] For you will know that the
"maize fields of my lands were lost
"because of the great drouth; but as
"soon as I and my people knelt down
"before the cross and begged it for
"waters, our need was alleviated."
The governor made him and the caci-
que of Pacaha friends and placed them
at table with him so that they might eat
with him. In regard to the seats, the
caciques had a quarrel as to who was
to sit at his right hand. The governor
made peace between them by saying
that among the Christians one side
was accounted as the other, and that
so they should consider it. Since they
were his guests no one would pay any
attention to them; and each should
seat himself in the first seat he should

find. Hence he sent thirty men of
horse and fifty of foot to the province
of Caluça to see whether they could
bend back toward Chisca by that way
[f. cvi, r] where the Indians said there
was a foundry for gold and copper.
They went for seven days through an
uninhabited region and returned after
much hardship, eating green plums
and maize stalks which they found in
a poor town of six or seven houses.
From there on toward the north, the
Indians said that the land was very
poorly inhabited because it was very
cold, and that there were so many cat-
tle that no field could be protected be-
cause of them, and that the Indians
sustained themselves on their flesh.
The governor, seeing that in that di-
rection the land was so poor in maize
that they could not sustain them-
selves, asked the Indians where the
most populous district lay. They said
that they had heard of a large prov-
ince and of a very well provided land
called Quiguate and it was toward the
south.

[f. cvi, v]

¶ Chapter XXV. How the governor went from Pacaha to Quiguate and to Coligoa and arrived at Cayas.

THE governor rested in Pacaha for forty days. During all that time, the two caciques gave him service of abundance of fish, blankets, and skins, and they tried to see which of them could perform the greater services. At the time of his departure, the cacique of Pacaha, gave two of his sisters to him, saying that if he would remember him he should take them as wives as a testimonial of love. The name of the one was Macanoche, and of the other Mochila. They were very well disposed, tall of body and plump in figure. Macanoche was of good appearance, and in her address and face appeared a lady; the other was ro[f. cvii, r]bust. The cacique of Casqui ordered the bridge repaired, and the gov- 201

ernor gave a turn through his land and lodged in the open field, near his town,
[the cacique] whither he / came with a quantity of fish and with two Indian women whom he exchanged with two Christians for two shirts. He gave a guide and tamemes. The governor went to sleep at one of his towns and next day at another near a river, where he ordered canoes brought for him in which to cross and with his permission returned. The governor took his way
202 toward Aquiguate. On the fourth of August, he reached the town where the cacique was living. On the way, the latter sent him a service of many blankets and skins, but not daring to remain in the town went away. The town was the largest which had been seen in Florida. The governor and his men were lodged in the half of it; [f. cvii, v] and a few days afterwards seeing that the Indians were going about deceitfully, he ordered the other half burned, so that it might not afford them protection, if they came to attack him at night, and be an obstacle to his men of horse in

resisting them. An Indian well attended by many Indians came, saying that he was the cacique. He / delivered him to his guard that they might look after him. Many Indians went off and came bringing blankets and skins. Seeing poor opportunity for carrying out his evil thought, the pretended cacique going out of the house one day with the governor, started to run away so swiftly that there was no Christian who could overtake him; and plunged into the river which was a crossbow-shot's distance from the town. As soon as he had crossed to the other side, many Indians who were walking about there, uttering loud cries began to shoot arrows. [f. cviii, r] The governor crossed over to them immediately with men of horse and of foot, but they did not dare await him. On going in pursuit of them, he arrived at a town which had been abandoned, and on beyond it a swamp where the horses could not cross. On the other side were many Indian women. Some men of foot crossed over and

[the governor]

203

captured many of the women and a quantity of clothing. The governor returned to the camp; and soon after on that night a spy of the Indians was captured by those who were on watch. The governor asked him whether he would take them to the place where
[the governor] the cacique was. He said yes, and he /
[the cacique] went immediately to look for him / with twenty men of horse and fifty of foot. After a march of a day and a half,
[the cacique] he found him / in a dense wood, and a soldier not knowing him, gave him a
[the cacique] cutless stroke on the head. He / cried out not to kill him, saying that he was the cacique. He was taken captive and with him one hundred and forty of his people. The governor went [f. cviii, v] to Quiguate and told him that he should make his Indians come to serve the Christians; and after waiting for some days hoping for them to come, but they not coming, he sent two captains, each one on his own side of the river, with horse and foot. They captured many Indians, both men and women. Upon seeing the hurt they

received, because of their rebellion, they came to see what the governor might order them. Thus they came and went frequently and brought gifts of clothing and fish. The cacique and two of his wives were left unshackled in the governor's house, being guarded by the halberdiers of the governor's guard. The governor asked them in what direction the land was more densely populated. They said that on the lower part of the river toward the south were large settlements and caciques who were lords of wide lands and of many people, and [f. cix, r] that there was a province called Coligoa toward the northwest, situated near some mountain ridges. It seemed advisable to the governor and to all the rest to go first to Coligoa, saying that perhaps the mountains would make a difference in the land and that gold or silver might exist on the other side of them. Both Aquiguate and Casqui and Pacaha were flat and fertile lands, with excellent meadow lands along the rivers where the Indians made large 204

fields. From Tascaluca to the great river, the distance was about three hundred leagues, the land being very
205 low and with many marshes. From Pacaha to Quiguate, the distance is
206 about one hundred and ten leagues. The governor left the cacique of Quiguate in his town; and an Indian who guided him through large pathless forests conducted him for seven days through an uninhabited region where they lodged each night amid marshes
207 and streamlets [f. cix, v] of very shallow water. So plentiful were the fish that they killed them by striking them with clubs; and the Indians whom they took along in chains roiled the water with the mud of the waters, and the fish, as if stupified would come to the surface, and they caught as many as they wished. The Indians of Coligoa had not heard of Christians and
[the Christians] when they / came within sight of the
[the Indians] town so that they / saw them, they took to flight up a river which flowed
208 near the town. Some plunged into the river, but Christians who went along

both banks captured them. Many Indians were captured there, both men and women, and among them, the cacique. At his command, many Indians came three days afterward bearing gifts of blankets and deer-skins and two cowhides. They said that five or six leagues beyond toward the north were many cattle, but because [f. cx, r] the land was cold, it was poorly populated; that the best land they knew of, as being more plentifully supplied with food and better inhabited, was a province toward the south called Cayas. From Quiguate to Coligoa, the distance was about forty leagues. That town of Coligoa was situated at the foot of a mountain in a field of a river half the size of the Caya River which flows through Estremadura. It was a fertile land and so abundant in maize that the old was thrown out in order to store the new. There was also a great quantity of beans and pumpkins, the beans being larger and better than those of Spain; and the pumpkins likewise. When

roasted, the latter have almost the taste of chestnuts. The cacique of Coligoa gave a guide to Cayas and remained in his town. We traveled for five days and reached the province of Palisema. The house of the cacique was found with cover[f. cx, v]ings of colored deerskins drawn over with designs, and the floor of the house was covered with the same material in the manner of carpets. The cacique left it so, in order that the governor might lodge in it as a sign that he was desirous of peace and his friendship, but he did not dare remain. The governor, upon seeing that he had gone away, sent a captain with horse and foot to look for him. He / found many people, but because of the roughness of the land they captured only some women and young persons. It was a small and scattered settlement and had very little maize. On that account, the governor left it immediately. He came upon another settlement called Tatalicoya, taking with him the cacique who guided him to Cayas. From

209

[the captain]

210

Tatalicoya it is a distance of four days' journey to Cayas. When he reached Cayas and [f. cxi, r] saw the scattered settlement, because of the information he had received, namely, that it was a well populated land, he believed that the cacique was lying to him and that that was not the province of Cayas. He threatened the cacique, bidding him to tell him where he was; and both the latter and the other Indians who had been captured near that place, asserted that that settlement was that of Cayas, and the best settlement of that province; and that although the houses were separated from one another, the populated land was considerable, and it had many people and many maize fields. The name of the settlement was Tanico. The camp was made in the best part of it near a river. The day on which the governor reached there with some men of horse, he went a league farther on and although he found no Indians, found on a road many [f. cxi, v] skins which the cacique had left there for him to find as a sign

211

212

of peace; for this is the custom of that land.

¶ Chapter XXVI. How the governor went to see the province of Tulla and what befell him there.

THe governor abode in the province of Cayas for a month. During that interval, the horses grew fat and throve more than after a longer time in any other region because of the abundance of maize and the leaf thereof, which is, I think, the best that has been seen. They drank from a very warm and brackish marsh of water, and they drank so much that it was noticed in their bellies when they were brought back from the water. Thitherto the Christians had lacked salt, but there they made a good quantity of it in order to carry it along with them. The Indians carry it thence [f. cxii, r] to other regions to exchange it for skins and blankets. They gather it along the

river, which leaves it on top of the sand when the water falls. And since they can not gather it without more sand being mixed with it, they put it into certain baskets which they have for this purpose, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom. They hang the baskets to a pole in the air and put water in them, and they place a basin underneath into which the water falls. After being strained and set on the fire to boil, as the water becomes less, the salt is left on the bottom of the pot. On 213
both sides of the river, the land had cultivated fields and there was an abundance of maize. The Indians did not dare to cross / to the place where [the river]
we were. When some / appeared, [Indians]
some soldiers who saw them, called to them. The Indians crossed the river
and came with them / to the place [the soldiers]
where the governor was. He asked them for their cacique. They declared that [f. cxii, v] he was friendly, but that he did not dare to appear. Thereupon, the governor ordered that he be told to come to see him and to bring a guide

and interpreter for the region ahead, if he wished to be his friend; and that if he did not do this, he would go to fetch him and his hurt would be greater. He waited three days, and seeing
[the cacique] that he / did not come, went to look for him, and brought him back a prisoner with one hundred and fifty of his Indians.
[the governor] He / asked him whether he had knowledge of any great cacique and where the most populated land was.
[the cacique] He / said that the best populated land thereabout was a province situated to the south, a day and a half away, called Tulla, that he could give him a guide, but that he did not have an interpreter, for the speech of Tulla was different from his; and because he and his forebears had always been at war with the lords of that province, they had no converse, [f. cxiii, r] nor did they understand each other. Thereupon, the governor set out for Tulla with men of horse and fifty foot in order to see whether it was a land through which he might pass with all his men. As soon as he arrived and was per-

ceived by the Indians, the land was summoned. When fifteen or twenty Indians had gathered together, they came to attack the Christians. On / seeing that they / handled them roughly, and that when they took to flight the horses overtook them, they climbed on top of the houses, where they tried to defend themselves with their arrows; and when driven from some / would climb on top of others; and while they / were pursuing some /, others / would attack them / from another direction. In this way, the running lasted so long that the horses became tired and could no longer run. The Indians killed one horse there and wounded several. Fifteen Indians were killed there and captives were made of forty women and [f. cxiii, v] young persons; for they / did not leave any Indian alive who was shooting arrows if they could overtake him. The governor determined to return to Cayas before the Indians should have time to gather themselves together. Thereupon, that evening, after having

[the Indians]
[the Christians]
[of the housetops]
[of the Indians]
[the Christians]
[the Christians]

e Christians]
f the Indians]

marched part of the night, in order to get some distance from Tulla, he went to sleep on the road, and reached Cayas next day. Three days after that he set out with all his men for Tulla, taking the cacique with him. Among all the Indians of the latter, he did not find a single one who understood the speech of Tulla. He was three days on the way, and the day he reached the town, he found it abandoned, for the Indians did not dare await him. But as soon as they knew he was in Tulla, at the hour of dawn of the first night, they came in two bands from two different directions with their bows and arrows and long poles resembling
[the Indians] pikes. [f. cxiiii, r] As soon as they / were perceived, both those of horse and those of foot sallied out against them and there many Indians were killed, and some Christians and horses
214 wounded. Some Indians were captured, six of whom the governor sent to the cacique with their right hands and their noses cut off. He ordered them to tell him that if he did not come

to make his excuses and obey him, he would go to get him; and that he would do to him and to as many of his men as he found what he had done to those whom he sent to him. He gave him the space of three days in which to come. This he gave them to understand the best he could by signs as he had no interpreter. After three days came an Indian whom the cacique sent laden with cowhides. He came weeping bitterly, and coming to the governor cast himself at his feet. He / raised him up, and he made him a talk, but [f. cxiiii, v] no one could understand him. The governor told him by signs that he should return and tell the cacique to send him an interpreter whom the people of Cayas could understand. Next day, three Indians came laden with cowhides and three days after that twenty Indians came. Among them was one who understood those of Cayas. After a long discourse of excuses from the cacique and praises of the governor, he concluded by saying that he and the others were

[the governor]

come thither on behalf of the cacique to see what his lordship ordered; and that he was ready to serve him. The governor and all the men were very glad, for they could in no wise travel without an interpreter. The governor ordered him under guard and told him to tell the Indians who had come with him to return to the cacique and [f. cxv, r] tell him that he pardoned him for the past and that he thanked him greatly for his gifts and for the interpreter whom he had sent him and that he would be glad to see him and for him to come next day to see him. The cacique came after three days and eighty Indians with him. Both he and his men entered the camp weeping in token of obedience and repentance for the past mistake, after the manner of that land. He brought many cowhides as a gift, which were useful because it was a cold land, and were serviceable for coverlets as they were very
215 soft and the wool like that of sheep. Nearby to the north were many cattle. The Christians did not see them

nor enter their land, for the land was poorly settled where they / were, and had little maize. The cacique of Tulla made his address to the governor in which he excused himself [f. cxv, v] and offered him his land and vassals and person. No orator could more elegantly express the message or address both of that cacique and of the other caciques and of all those who came to the governor in their behalf. [the cattle]

¶ Chapter XXVII. How the governor went from Tulla to Autiamque where he wintered.

THe governor informed himself of the land in all directions and learned that there was a scattering population toward the west and large towns toward the southeast, especially in a province called Autiamque, ten days' journey from Tulla—a distance of about eighty leagues;—and that it was a land abounding in maize. Since win-

ter had already come and on account of the cold, [f. cxvi, r] rains and snows, they could not travel during two or three months of the year; fearing lest they could not feed themselves for so long a time because of its scattered population; also because the Indians said there was a large body of water near Autiamque—and according to what they said, the governor believed it to be an arm of the sea;—and because he now wished to give information of himself in Cuba, for it was three years and over since Doña Isabel, who was in the Havana, or any other person in a Christian land, had heard of him, and now two hundred and fifty men and one hundred and fifty horses were wanting: he determined to go to winter at Autiamque, and in the following summer to reach the sea and build two brigantines and send one of them to Cuba and the other to New Spain, so that [f. cxvi, v] the one which should go safely might give news of him; hoping from his property in Cuba to refit, take up his expedition again, and ex-

plore and conquer / farther west than he had yet reached, whither Cabeza de Vaca had gone. He dismissed the two caciques of Tulla and Cayas, and set out toward Autiamque. For five days he proceeded through very rough ridges and reached a village called Quipana, where he was unable to capture any Indian because of the roughness of the land and because the town was located among ridges. At night he set an ambush in which two Indians were captured. They said that Autiamque was six days' journey away and that another province called Guahate lay a week's journey southward—a land plentifully abounding in maize and of much [f. cxvii, r] population. But since Autiamque was nearer and more of the Indians mentioned it to him, the governor proceeded on his journey in search of it. He reached a town called Anoixi in three days and sent a captain with thirty horse and fifty foot on ahead. The latter surprised the Indians unawares and captured many Indian men and women. Two days later,

[the land]

216
217

the governor arrived at another town
218 called Catamaya and made camp in the
open field of the town. Two Indians
came with a false message from the
cacique in order to ascertain what he
was going to do. The governor told
them to tell their lord that he should
come to talk with him. The Indians
went away but did not return, nor was
there any other message from the ca-
cique. Next day the Christians went
to the town, which was without peo-
ple, and took what maize they needed.
They went [f. cxvii, v] to sleep on that
day in a forest and next day reached
219 Autiamque. They found considerable
maize hidden away, as well as beans,
nuts, and dried plums, all in great
quantity. They seized some Indians
who were collecting their clothing, and
who had already placed their women
220 in safety. That land was cultivated
and well peopled. The governor lodged
in the best part of the village and im-
mediately ordered a wooden stockade
to be built about the place where the
camp was established at some dis-

tance from the houses, so that the Indians without might not harm it with fire. Having measured off the land by paces, he allotted to each one the amount that was proper for him to build, in proportion to the number of Indians he had. Thereupon, the wood was brought in by them and within three days the stockade was built of very high timbers set close together in the ground [f. cxviii, r] and with many boards placed crosswise. Near this village flowed a river of Cayas and above and below it was densely populated. Indians came there on behalf of the cacique with gifts of blankets and skins, and a lame cacique subject to the cacique of Autiamque, lord of a 221
town called Tietiquaquo, came fre- 222
quently to visit the governor and brought him gifts of what he had. The cacique of Autiamque sent to ask the governor how long he intended to remain in his land. Upon seeing that he was a guest for more than three days, he sent no more Indians to him, nor any further message; but on the con-

trary, he conspired with the lame cacique to revolt. Forays were made in which many Indians, both men and women, were seized, and the lame cacique was captured. The governor, in consideration of the gifts he had received from him, rebuked and warned him, and [f. cxviii, v] gave him back his liberty, giving him two Indians to carry him on their shoulders. The cacique of Autiamque, desirous of driving the governor from his land, set spies on him. An Indian coming during the night to the gate of the stockade, a soldier who was on guard saw him and taking position behind the gate, thrust at him as he entered it and knocked him down; and in that condition brought him to the governor. On asking him why he had come, he fell down dead without being able to answer. Next night, the governor ordered a soldier to sound to arms and to say that he had seen Indians, in order to ascertain how soon they would hasten to the alarm. And both there and in other places, he did the same at

various times when he thought his men were growing careless. Those who were slow in standing by, he reproved. And both on this account and because of what [f. cxix, r] was his duty toward him, each one strove to be the first to respond when the alarm was given. They stayed three months in Autiamque, and had great abundance of maize, beans, walnuts, dried plums, and rabbits which until then they had no skill in killing. In Autiamque, the Indians showed them how they snared them, namely, by means of stout springs which lift the feet off the ground and a noose of strong cord fastened to which is a joint of cane which runs to the neck of the rabbit, so that it can not gnaw the cord. Many were taken in the maize fields, especially when it froze or snowed. The Christians were there a month amid snow during which they never left the town. When firewood was needed, the governor with those of horse going frequently to and from the woods, a distance of two [f. cxix, v] crossbow-

flights from the town, made a road by which those of foot went in a line. During that time, some Indians whom they were now taking along unshackled, killed many rabbits with their snares and arrows. The rabbits were of two kinds—some like those of Spain and others of the same color, form, and size as large hares, but larger and with larger loins.

¶ Chapter XXVIII. How the governor went from Autiamque to Nilco and thence to Guachoya.

ON Monday, March six, of the year 1542, the governor set out from Autianque to go in search of Nilco, which the Indians said was near the great river, with the intention of [f. cxx, r] reaching the sea and obtaining aid of men and horses; for he now had only three hundred fighting men and forty horses, and some of them lame and useful only for making a body of

horse. For a year, because of lack of iron they brought them along all unshod; but because they / were now accustomed to going in a flat country, this did not make their need felt much. In Autiamque died Juan Ortiz, which the governor felt deeply, for without an interpreter, not knowing where he was going, he feared lest he enter a region where he might get lost. After that, a youth who had been seized in Cutifachiqui, and who now knew something of the language of the Christians, served as interpreter. So great a misfortune was the death of Juan Ortiz, with regard to the exploring or trying to leave the land, that to learn from the Indians what he stated in four [f. cxx, v] words, with the youth the whole day was needed; and most of the time he understood just the opposite of what was asked, so that many times it came about that the road they took one day, and at times, two or three days, they would return on, and they would wander about lost from one side of those woods to the other. From Au-

[the horses]

223

tiamque, it took the governor ten days
224 to reach a province called Ayays. He
reached a town near the river which
flowed through Cayas and Autiam-
que. There he ordered a piragua to be
constructed, by which he crossed the
225 river. After crossing, such weather
occurred, that he could not march for
four days because of the snow. As
soon as it stopped snowing, he
marched for three days through an
unpopulated region and a land so low
226 and with so many swamps and such
hard going that one day he marched all
day [f. cxxi, r] through water that in
some places reached to the knees and
in others to the stirrups, and some
passages were swum over. He came
to a deserted village, without maize
227 called Tutelpinco. Near it was a lake
which emptied into the river and had a
strong current and force of water. As
five Christians, accompanied by a
captain whom the governor had sent,
were crossing it in a canoe, the canoe
[the canoe] overturned. Some caught hold of it /
and others of trees which were in the

lake. One Francisco Bastian, an hon-
orable person, a native of Villanueva
de Barcarota, was drowned there.
The governor went for a day along the
lake looking for a crossing place, but
he did not find it all that day nor any
road leading from any other direction.
Returning at night to the town, he
found two peaceful Indians [f. cxxi, v]
who showed him the crossing and the
road he must take. Reed frames and
rafts were made there from reeds
and wood from the houses, on which
they crossed the lake. They marched
for three days and reached a town of
the district of Ailco, called Tianto.
Thirty Indians were captured there,
among them being two of the principal
men of that town. The governor sent
a captain on ahead to Ailco with horse
and foot, so that the Indians might
not have any opportunity to carry off
the food. They went through three or
four large towns, and in the town
where the cacique lived—located two
leagues from where the governor re-
mained—they found many Indians 228

with their bows and arrows, and in appearance as if they wished to give battle, and who were surrounding the town. As soon as they saw that the Christians were coming toward them without [f. cxxii, r] any hesitation, they set fire to the cacique's house and
229 escaped over a swamp that lay near the town, where the horses could not cross. Next day, Wednesday, March
230 29, the governor reached Milco. He lodged with all his men in the cacique's town which was located on a level field, and which was all populated for a quarter of a league; while a league and a half-league distant were other very large towns where there was a quantity of maize, beans, walnuts, and dried plums. This was the most populous region which had been seen in Florida and more abounding in maize, with the exception of Coça and Apalache. An Indian came to the camp, accompanied by others, and in the cacique's name presented the governor with a blanket of marten skins and a string of pearl beads. The gov-

ernor [f. cxxii, v] gave him some "margaridetas"—a kind of bead much esteemed in Peru—and some other trifles with which he was much pleased. He promised to return two days later, but he never did return. On the other hand, Indians came in canoes at night and carried off all the maize they could and set up their huts on the other side of the river in the thickest part of the forest, so that if they / should go in search of them, they might escape. The governor, on seeing that he / did not come at the promised time, ordered an ambush to be made at some barbacoas near the swamp where the Indians came for maize. Two Indians were captured there, who told the governor that the one who came to visit them was not the cacique, but one sent at the latter's command under pretense that it was he, in order to ascertain whether the Christians were off their guard, and whether they planned to settle [f. cxxiii, r] in that region or go on farther. Thereupon, the governor sent a captain across the

231

[the Spaniards]

[the Indian]

232

river with men of horse and foot, but on crossing they were perceived by the Indians, and for that reason, he / [the captain] could not capture more than ten or twelve Indians, men and women, with whom he returned to the camp. That river which flowed through Anilco was the same that flowed through Cayas and Autiamque and emptied into the large river which flowed through Pacaha and Aquixo hard by the province
233 of Guachoya. The lord of the upper part came in canoes to make war on the lord of Milco. Sent by him, an Indian came to the governor and told him that he was his servant and as such he should consider him and that two days later he would come to kiss the hands of his Lordship. He came at that time with some of his principal Indians who accompanied him. With [f. cxxiii,v] words of great promise and courtesy, he presented many blankets and deerskins to the governor. The governor gave him some trifles and showed him great honor. He questioned him about the settlement down the river. He said

that he knew of none other except his own; and that on the other side was a province of a cacique called Quigaltam. He took his leave of the governor 234
and returned to his town. A few days later, the governor made up his mind to go to Guachoya, in order to ascertain there whether the sea were nearby, or whether there were any settlement nearby where he might subsist himself while brigantines were being built which he intended to send to the land of Christians. As he was crossing the river of Milco, Indians came up it in canoes from Guachoya, and when [f. cxxiiii, r] they saw him, thinking that he was going after them to do them some hurt, they turned back down the river and went to warn the cacique. The latter, abandoning the town with all his people, with all they could carry off, on that night crossed over to the other side of the great river. The governor sent a captain and fifty men in six canoes down the river, while he, with the rest of his men, went overland. He reached Guachoya 235

236 on Sunday, April 17, and lodged himself in the cacique's town, which was surrounded by a stockade, a cross-bow-flight from the river. There, the river was called Tamaliseu, at Milco, Tapatu, at Coça, Mico, and at the [*i.e.*, River]: 237 port, Ri /.

¶ Chapter XXIX. Of the message sent by the governor to Quigaltam and of the answer given by the latter; and of what happened during this time.

[f. cxxiiii, *v*]

AS soon as the governor reached Guachoya, he sent Juan de Añasco up the river with as many men as could get into the canoes; for when they were coming from Anilco, they saw newly made huts on the other side. Juan de Añasco went and brought back the canoes laden with maize, beans, dried plums, and many loaves

made from the pulp of the plums. On that day, an Indian came to the governor in the name of the cacique of Guachoya and said that his lord would come next day. On the following day, they saw many canoes coming from downstream. They assembled together for the space of an hour on the other side of the great river, debating as to whether they should come or not. At last, they made up their minds and crossed the river. [f. cxxv, r] The cacique of Guachoya came in them, bringing with him many Indians bearing a considerable quantity of fish, dogs, skins, and blankets. As soon as they landed at the town, they went immediately to the town to the governor's lodging and presented the gifts to him; and the cacique spoke as follows: "C. Powerful and excellent lord: May "your Lordship pardon me for the "mistake I made in going away and "not waiting in this town to receive "you and serve you; for the obtaining "of this opportune occasion was, and "is, a great victory for me. But I

"feared what I should not have feared "and on that account did what it was "not proper to do. However, since "hasty actions cause unfavorable re= "sults, and I had acted without de= "liberation, as soon as I reflected on "this, I made up my mind not to fol= "low the advice of the foolish, which "is to persist in their error, but [f. cxxv, "v] to imitate the wise and prudent "ones in changing one's opinion; and "I am come to see what your Lord= "ship might command me in order to "serve you in so far as my possibility "suffices." The governor welcomed him with much hospitality and gave him thanks for his gifts and promises.

[the cacique] He asked him / whether he had any knowledge of the sea. He said he did not, nor of any settlement down the river from that place, except that there was a town of one of his princi= pal Indians subject to him two leagues away, and on the other side three days' journey downstream the province of Quigaltam, who was the greatest lord of that region. It seemed to the gov=

ernor that the cacique was lying to him in order to turn him aside from his towns, and he sent Juan de Añasco downstream with eight horse to see what population there was and to ascertain [f. cxxvi, r] whether there were any knowledge of the sea. He was gone for a week and on his coming said that during that whole time he could not proceed more than fourteen or fifteen leagues because of the great arms leading out of the river, and the canebrakes and thick woods lying along it; and that he found no settlement. The governor's grief was intense on seeing the small prospect / he had for [*mao remedio*]
reaching the sea; and worse, according to the way in which his men and
horses were diminishing, they could 238
not be maintained in the land without succor. With that thought, he fell sick, but before he took to his bed, he sent an Indian to tell the cacique of Quigaltam that he was the son of the sun and that wherever he went all obeyed him and did him service. He requested him to choose his friendship and come

there where he was, for he would be very glad to see him; and in token of love and obedience that [f. cxxvi, v] he should bring him something of what was most esteemed in that land. By the same Indian, he / answered him saying that with respect to what he / said about being the son of the sun, let him dry up the great river and he would believe him. With respect to the rest /, he was not accustomed to visit any one. On the contrary, all of whom he had knowledge visited and served him and obeyed him and paid him tribute, either by force or of their own volition. Consequently, if he / wished to see him, let him cross there. If he came in peace, he would welcome him with special goodwill; if he came in war, he would await him in the town where he was, for not for him or any other would he move one foot back-
239 ward. When the Indian came with this reply, the governor was already in bed, badly racked by fever. He was very angry that he was not in con[f. cxxvii, r]dition to cross the river forth-

[the cacique]
[the governor]
[the governor said]
[the governor]

with and go in quest of him / to see whether he could not lessen that arrogant demeanor. However, the river was now very powerful there, being about half a league wide and sixteen brazas deep, and very furious because of its strong current. On both sides of it were many Indians; and his strength was now no longer so great that he did not need to take advantage of cunning rather than force. The Indians of Guachoya came daily with fish, so many that the town was filled with them. The cacique said that the cacique of Quigaltam was going to come on a certain night to do battle with the governor. The governor, believing that he / was planning thereby to drive him out of his land, ordered him placed under guard. That night and every other night a very strict watch was kept. Ask[f. cxxvii, *v*]ing him why Quigaltam did not come, he / said that he had come, but saw that he / was on the watch and he did not dare to attack him. He / importuned him / frequently, to order his captains

[the cacique]

240

[the cacique of Guachoya]

[the cacique]
[the governor]
[the cacique]
[the governor]

to cross to the other side of the river
[said] and / that he would give him many
men to attack Quigaltam. The gover-
nor told him that as soon as he got
[Quigaltam] well, he would go to look for him /.
Noting how many Indians came to the
town daily, and how many people were
in that land, and fearing lest some of
them conspire with others and plan
some treason against him; and be-
cause the town, having no gates by
which advantage could be taken, had
some openings which had not been
completely closed: he left them in that
condition without repairing the stock-
ade in order that the Indians might
not think he feared them. He ordered
that men of horse be stationed at them
and at the gates. All night [f. cxxviii, r]
long the horses were left bridled and
from each company mounted men
rode by couples and went to visit the
sentinels who were stationed on the
roads at their posts outside the town,
and the crossbowmen who were
guarding the canoes on the river. In
order that the Indians might fear

him, the governor determined to send a captain to Milco, which those of Guachoya had told him was inhabited, in order that by treating them cruelly, neither the one town nor the other should dare attack him. He sent Muño de Tobar with fifteen horse and Juan de Guzmán, captain of men of foot, with his men upstream in the canoes. The cacique of Guachoya sent for canoes and for many Indian warriors who went with the Christians. A captain of the Christians, Muño de Tobar, by name, with the men of horse [f. cxxviii, v] went overland. At a distance of two leagues before reaching Milco, he awaited Juan de Guzmán and at night they crossed the river at that place. Those of horse arrived first. At daybreak next morning, in sight of the town they came upon a spy, who, on seeing the Christians, ran away uttering loud cries in order to give the alarm to those of the town. Muño de Tobar and those who accompanied him set such a pace that before the Indians of the town had all come

out, they were on them. The land was open, that part which was peopled be=
[in extent] ing about a quarter of a league /. There were about five or six thousand souls in that settlement. And since many of the people came out of the houses and went fleeing from one house to the other, and many Indians were gath=ering together in all directions, there was not a single one of the horse who did not find himself alone [f. cxxix, r] a=mong many. The captain had ordered that no male Indian's life should be spared. So great was their confusion that not an Indian shot at a Christian. The cries of the women and little chil=dren were so loud that they deafened the ears of those who pursued them. A hundred or so Indians were killed there and many were badly wounded with the lances, who were let go in or=der that they might strike terror into those who did not happen to be there. There were men there so cruel and such butchers that they killed old men and young men and all they came upon without any one offering them little or

much resistance. Those who trusted in themselves, who went to prove themselves wherever there was any resistance, and who were considered as such men, broke through the Indians, overthrowing many with the stirrup and breasts of their horses; [f. cxxix,v] and some they lanced and let them go in that condition; but on seeing a child or a woman, they would capture and deliver such a person to those of foot. Those who were cruel, because they showed themselves inhuman, God permitted their sin to confront them, very great cowardice assailing them in the sight of all at a time when there was greater need of fighting, and when at last they came to die. Of 241
the Indians at Milco, eighty women and children were seized, and much clothing. The Indians of Guachoya stopped before reaching the town and stayed outside, beholding how the Christians dealt / with the people of [*se avinhã*]
Milco; and seeing them defeated and those of horse going about lancing them, they went to the houses to loot,

and from the booty loaded their canoes with clothing and went to Guachoya before the Christians came. [f. cxxx, r] And full of wonder at what they had seen done to the Indians of Anilco, they told their cacique with great fear everything as it had happened.

¶ Chapter XXX. How the adelantado, Don Fernando de Soto, died and how Luis Moscoso de Alvarado was chosen governor.

THE governor realized within himself that the hour had come in which he must leave this present life. He had the royal officials summoned, and the captains and principal persons. To them he gave a talk, saying that he was about to go to give an accounting before the throne of God of all his past life; and that since He / was pleased to take him at such a time, and to arrive at a time when he could perceive

[God]

his death, he a very unworthy [f. cxxx, r] servant gave Him many thanks; and to all those present and absent, to whom he confessed his great obligation for their singular virtues, love, and loyalty toward himself, which he had well proven in the hardships they had suffered. This he had always had in mind and had hoped to recompense and to reward when God should be pleased to give leisure to his life with greater prosperity of his estate. He asked them to pray God for him and in His mercy to pardon him his sins, and place his soul in glory. He asked them to give him release and remission from the obligation in which he stood to them and of what he was owing to them all; and to pardon any feelings of offense they might have received from him. In order to avoid any disunion that might arise at his death, with regard to the one who [f. cxxxi, r] was to act as governor, he asked them to consider it fitting to elect one of the principal and capable persons to govern, in whom they all might be satis-

fied, and before whom having been elected they should take oath to obey him. For this, he would be very grateful, for it would soften somewhat his grief and the sorrow he felt at leaving them in so great confusion as he was doing in a land in which they did not know where they were. Baltasar de Gallegos answered him in the name of all, and first consoling him, spoke to him of how brief was the life of this world and of how many hardships and sufferings; that he who earliest left it, to him God showed signal mercy; saying to him / many other things proper at such a time; and lastly, that since God was pleased to take him to Himself, although his death, with much reason [f. cxxxi, v] they greatly grieved over, it was necessary and proper for him as it was for all to conform to the will of God. And as to the governor whom he ordered them to choose, let his Lordship appoint him whom he might delegate and they would obey him. Therefore, he / appointed Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado

[also]

[the governor]

242

as their captain general, and by all those who were present he was immediately sworn and elected as governor. Next day, May 21, died the magnanimous, virtuous, and courageous captain, Don Fernando de Soto, governor of Cuba and adelantado of Florida, whom fortune exalted as she is wont to do with others, so that he might fall from a greater height. He died in a land and at a time when his illness had very little solace. The danger of being lost in that land, which stared all of them in the face, was the reason [f. cxxxii, r] why each one himself had need of consolation and why they did not visit him and wait upon him, as was fitting. Luis de Moscoso determined to conceal his death from the Indians, for Fernando de Soto had given them to understand that the Christians were immortal. Also because they knew him to be bold, wise, and courageous, if they should learn of his death, they would be emboldened to attack them / even though they were at peace, because of their nature and their entire

243

[the Spaniards]

[the Indians] lack of constancy. They / believe everything told them. The adelantado had made them believe that certain things which had happened among them in secret, which he had succeeded in discovering without their knowing how or in what manner, and that the face which appeared within the mirror (which he showed them) told him whatever they were planning and thinking about. Consequently, they did not dare by word or deed to at[f. cxxxii,v]tempt anything which might be to his hurt. As soon as he died, Luis [i.e., his corpse] de Moscoso ordered him / to be placed secretly in a house where he was kept for three days; and from thence he ordered him to be buried at night inside at a gate of the town. And since the Indians had seen that he was sick and found him missing, they suspected what might have happened; and passing by where he was buried and seeing the earth had been disturbed, looked and talked among themselves. Luis de Moscoso having learned this, ordered him disinterred at night and

a considerable quantity of sand was placed within the blankets in which he was shrouded, and he was taken in a canoe and cast into the middle of the river. The cacique of Guachoya asked 244
for him, inquiring what had been done with his brother and lord, the governor. Luis de Moscoso told him that he had gone to the [f. cxxxiii, r] sky as he had often done before; and since he was to stay there for some days, he had left him in his stead. The cacique believed that he / was dead, and ordered two young and well built Indians to be taken there. He said it was the custom in that land when any lord died to kill Indians to accompany him and serve him on the way; and on this account, those / had come thither at his order; and he told Luis de Moscoso to have them beheaded so that they might accompany and serve his brother and lord. Luis de Moscoso told him that the governor was not dead but that he had gone to the sky and that he had taken from among his soldiers Christians who were sufficient for his

[Soto]

[Indians]

service; and that he requested him to order those Indians freed and from thenceforth not to follow so evil [f. cxxx iii, v] a custom. Thereupon, he ordered them set free and commanded them to go to their homes. One of them refused to go saying that he did not wish to remain under the power of any one who had sentenced him to death undeservedly, and that he desired to serve while life lasted him who had freed him. Luis de Moscoso ordered the property of the governor to be sold at auction, namely, two men slaves, two women slaves, three horses, and
245 seven hundred hogs. For each horse or slave, two or three thousand cruzados were given, which were to be paid at the first melting of gold or silver, or from their repartimientos. They pledged themselves that, even though there might be nothing in the land, they would make payment within a year, and for that purpose, those who had no property in Spain, gave bonds. For a hog, two hundred cruzados, pledged in the same way /. Those

[were given]

who [f. cxxxiiii, r] had property in Spain bought more timidly and bought less. Thenceforward, most of the men had hogs and reared and ate them. They observed Fridays and Saturdays and the vespers of holidays, which they had not done before; for two or three months would pass without their eating meat, and they had eaten it on any day they could get it.

¶ Chapter XXXI. How Governor Luis de Moscoso departed from Guachoya and went to Chaguate and thence to Aguacay.

THere were some who rejoiced at the death of Don Fernando de Soto, considering it as certain that Luis de Moscoso (who was fond of leading a gay life) would rather prefer to be at ease in a land of Christians than to con[f. cxxxiiii, v]tinue the hardships of the war of conquest and discovery, of

which they had long ago become a-
wearied because of the little profit ob-
246 tained. The governor ordered the cap-
tains and principal men to assemble
in order to consult them and plan what
should be done. Having obtained in-
formation of the population all there-
about, he learned that there was a
more populous land toward the west
and that the river below Quigaltam
was uninhabited and had little food.
He asked each to express his opinion
in writing and to sign his opinion with
his name, so that having the opinions
of them all, he might make up his mind
whether to descend the river or to pen-
etrate inland. It seemed advisable to
all to take the road overland toward
the west, for New Spain lay in that
direction; and they considered as more
dangerous and [f. cxxxv, r] of greater
risk the voyage by sea; for no ship
could be built strong enough to wea-
ther a storm, and they had no master
or pilot, and no compass or sailing
chart, and they did not know how far
away the sea was, nor had they any

information of it; nor whether the river made some great bend through the land or whether it fell over any rocks where they would perish. Some men who had seen the sailing chart, found that the distance to New Spain along the coast in the region where they were, was about five hundred leagues 247
or so. They declared that even although they might have to make some detours by land, because of looking for a settlement, they would not be prevented from going ahead that summer except by some great uninhabited district which they could not cross. If they found food to pass the winter in some settlement, the following summer [f. cxxxv, v] they would reach the land of Christians. It might be also that by going by land, they would find some rich land from which they might get profit. Although the governor's desire was to leave the land of Florida in the shortest time possible, on seeing the difficulties which lay before him in making the voyage by sea, he resolved to follow what seemed best

248 to all. On Monday, June 5, he left
Guachoya. The cacique gave him a
guide to Chaguate and remained in
his village. They passed through a
249 province called Catalte and after pas-
sing through an uninhabited region
250 for six days, they reached Chaguete on
the twentieth of the month. The caci-
que of that province had gone to visit
the governor, Don Fernando de Soto,
at Autiamque where he brought him
gifts of skins, blankets, and salt. A
day before Luis de Moscoso arrived
at his vil[f. cxxxvi, r]lage, a sick Chris-
tian got lost, and he suspected that
[Moscoso] the Indians had killed him. He / sent
word to the cacique to have him looked
for and sent to him, and said that he
would consider him a friend as for-
merly; but that if he did not do so,
there was no place of escape for him
or his people, and that his land would
be burned. The cacique came forth-
with and brought a rich gift of blankets
and skins and the Christian, and made
the following speech: ¶ "Excellent
"Lord: For all the treasure in the

"world, I would not desire the opin-
"ion you have of me. Who forced me
"to go to visit the excellent lord gov-
"ernor, your father, at Autiamque
"(which you should have remem-
"bered) where I offered myself with
"all loyalty, fidelity, and love to serve
"and obey him as long as I lived?
"Therefore, what could be the rea-
"son, after I had received favors from
"him [f. cxxxvi, v] and without you or
"he having done me any injury that I
"could be induced to do what I ought
"not do? Believe me, neither injury
"nor human interest were enough to
"make me act so, nor would it have
"blinded me. But since it is a natural
"thing in this life for many griefs to
"happen after one pleasure, fortune
"has pleased by your indignation to
"moderate the gladness which my
"heart felt at your coming, and that I
"should err wherein I thought to suc-
"ceed, in sheltering that Christian
"who had become lost and in treating
"him in such manner as he can tell;
"for it seemed to me that by so doing

"I was rendering a service and I
"planned to go to deliver him to you
"at Chaguete, and to serve you in
"everything for which my strength
"sufficed. If I merit punishment
"from your hand on this account, I
"shall receive it as from a lord, as if
251 "it were a reward; for the love I bore
"to the [f. cxxxvii, r] excellent governor
"and that which I have for you has no
"limit. Therefore, whatever punish-
"ment you give me, you will do me a
"favor. And what I now ask of you is
"that you declare your will to me and
"those things in which I can best
"serve you." The governor answered
him saying that because he did not find
him in that town he was angry at him,
as it appeared to him that he had gone
away as others had done; but since he
now understood his loyalty and love,
he would always consider him as a
brother, and would favor him in all
his affairs. The cacique accompanied
him to the town where he was living,
which was a day's journey thence.
They passed through a small town

where there was a lake where the Indians made salt. The Christians made some on a day they rested there from some briny water which rose near the town in pools [f. cxxxvii, v] like springs. The governor stayed six days in Chaguete. There he got information of the people to the west. They told him that three days' journey from there was a province called Aguacay. The day he left Chaguete, a Christian named Francisco de Guzmán, bastard son of a gentleman of Seville, remained behind. He went away to the Indians in fear lest they / seize from him as a gaming obligation an Indian woman whom he had as a mistress and whom he took away with him. The governor marched for two days before he found he was not with them. He sent word to the cacique to look for him and to send him to Aguacay, whither he was going, which he / never did. On behalf of the cacique of Aguacay, before reaching that province, fifteen Indians came to meet him on the way with a [f. cxxxviii, r] present of

252

253

[the Christians]

[the cacique]

skins and fish and roasted venison. The governor reached his town on
254 Wednesday, July 4. He found the town abandoned and lodged therein. He stayed there for some time, during which he made several inroads, in which many Indians, both men and women, were captured. There they heard of the south sea. There a considerable quantity of salt was made from the sand which they gathered in a vein of earth like slate and which was made as it was made in Cayas.

¶ Chapter XXXII. How the governor went from Aguacay to Naguatex and what happened to him.

On the day the governor left Aguacay, he went to sleep near a small town subject to the lord of that province. The camp was pitched quite near to a [f. cxxxviii, v] salt marsh, and on that evening some salt was made
255 there. Next day he went to sleep be-

tween two ridges in a forest of open trees. Next day he reached a small town called Pato. The fourth day after he left Aguacay, he reached the first settlement of a province called Amaye. An Indian was captured there who said that it was a day and a half journey thence to Maguatex, all of which lay through an inhabited region. Having left the village of Amaye, on Saturday, July 20, camp was made 256
at midday beside a brook in a luxuriant grove between Amaye and Maguatex. Indians were seen there who 257
came to spy on them. Those of horse rushed at them, killing six and capturing two. On being asked by the governor why they had come, they said it was to ascertain [f. cxxxix, r] what people he had and of what manner they were, and that they had been sent 258
by their lord, the cacique of Maguatex; that the latter, with other caciques, who were in his company and under his protection, had made up their minds to give him battle that day. While this questioning and an-

swering was going on, many Indians came in two bands from two directions. As soon as they saw they had been perceived, uttering loud cries they rushed upon the Christians with great fury, each band in its own part. But on seeing the resistance they met with from the Christians, they turned and fled, and in their flight many of them lost their lives. While most of the horse were going in pursuit of them, quite forgetful of the camp, two other bands of Indians who had been concealed, attacked them. They were also resisted and had their pay as the first had. [f. cxxxix, v] After the Indians had fled and the Christians had gathered together, they heard a loud cry at the distance of a crossbow-flight from where they were. The governor sent twelve horse to see what it was. They found six Christians, two of horse and four of foot, among many Indians, those on horse with great difficulty defending those on foot. These had got lost from those who pursued the first two bands of Indi-

ans, and while returning to camp, met those with whom they were fighting. Both they and those who went to their aid killed many of the Indians. They brought one Indian to camp alive, whom the governor asked who those were who had come to do battle with him. He said that they were the cacique of Aguatex and he of Maye and another of a province called Hacanac, lord of vast lands [f. cxl, r] and many vassals; and that he of Aguatex came as captain and head of all. The governor ordered his right arm and his nostrils cut off and sent him to the cacique of Aguatex, ordering him to say that on the morrow he would be in his land to destroy him and that if he wished to forbid him entrance, he should await him. That night he slept there and next day reached the village of Aguatex which was very extensive. He asked where the town of the cacique was and they told him it was on the other side of a river which ran through 259
that district. He marched toward it and on reaching it saw many Indians

on the other side waiting for him, so posted as to forbid his passage. Since he did not know whether it / was fordable, nor where it could be crossed; and since several Christians and horses were wounded: in order that they might have time to recover in the town [f. cxl, v] where he was, he made up his mind to rest for a few days. Because of the great heat, he made camp near the village, a quarter of a league from the river, in an open forest of luxuriant and lofty trees near a brook. Several Indians were captured there. He asked them whether the river was fordable. They said it was at times in certain places. Ten days later he sent two captains, each with fifteen horse up and down the river with Indians to show them where they could cross, to see what population lay on the other side of the river. The Indians opposed the crossing of them both as strongly as possible, but they crossed in spite of them. On the other side they saw a large village and many provisions; and returned to camp with this news.

[the river]

[f. cxli, r]

¶ Chapter XXXIII. How the Cacique of Naguatex came to visit the governor; and how the governor left Naguatex and went to Nondacao.

FRom the town of Naguatex, where the governor was, he sent word by an Indian to the cacique to come to serve and obey him and said that he would pardon him for the past; and that if he did not come he would go to look for him and give him the punishment he merited for what he had done against him. Two days later the Indian came and said that the cacique would come next day. The very day before he came, he/sent many Indians ahead, among [the cacique] whom were some of the principal men. He sent them to see in what mood they found the governor, in order [f. cxli, v] to make up his mind with himself whether to go or not. The Indians

reported he was coming and immediately returned. The cacique came two hours later well attended by his men. They all came after this manner, one ahead of the other in double file, leaving a lane in the middle through which the cacique came. They reached the place where the governor was, all weeping after the manner of Tula which lay to the east not very far from that place. The cacique paid his respects fittingly and spoke as follows: "¶ Very exalted, very mighty Lord, "to whom the whole world owes serv= "ice and obedience: I venture to ap= "pear before your Lordship after "having committed so enormous and "vile an act, for which even because it "passed through my mind I merit "punishment, trusting in your great= "ness, that although I have not even "deserved pardon, but because it is "your custom, [f. cxlii, r] you will ob= "serve clemency toward me, consid= "ering how insignificant I am in com= "parison with your Lordship, so that "you will not be mindful of my weak=

"nesses, which, because of my evil, I
"have come to know for my greater
"good. I believe that you and your men
"must be immortal and that your
"Lordship is lord of the realm of na-
"ture, since everything submits to
"and obeys you, even the hearts of
"men. For, seeing the death and de-
"struction of my men in the battle,
"which I fought with your Lordship
"through my ignorance and the coun-
"sel of a brother of mine, who was
"killed in the action, I immediately
"repented me in my heart of the mis-
"take I had committed and desired to
"serve and obey you. I come, there-
"fore, so that your Lordship may
"punish me and order me as your
"own." The governor answered him
saying that he pardoned him for the
past, that thenceforth and in the fu-
ture he should act as he ought and that
he would consider him his friend [f. cx
lii, v] and protect him in all his affairs.
Four days later he departed thence,
but on reaching the river could not 260
cross, as it had swollen greatly. This

appeared a wonderful phenomenon to him because of the season then and because it had not rained for more than a month. The Indians declared that it swelled often in that way without it having rained anywhere in the land. It was conjectured that it might be the sea which came up through the river. It was learned that the increase always came from above, and that the Indians of all that land had no knowledge of the sea. The governor returned to the place where he had been during the preceding days. A week later, hearing that the river could be crossed, he passed to the other side and found a village without any people. He lodged in the open field and
261 sent word to the cacique [f. cxliii, r] to come where he was and give him a guide for the forward journey. A few days later, seeing that the cacique did not come or send, he sent two captains, each in a different direction, to burn the towns and capture any Indians they might find. They burned many provisions and captured many

Indians. The cacique, on beholding the damage that his land was receiving, sent six of his principal men and 262
three Indians with them as guides who knew the language of the region ahead where the governor was about to go. He immediately left Naguatex and after marching three days reached a town of four or five houses, belonging to the cacique of that miserable province, called Nissohone. It was a 263
poorly populated region and had little maize. Two days later, the guides who were guiding the govern[f. cxliii, v]or, if they had to go toward the west, guided them toward the east, and sometimes they went through dense forests, wandering off the road. The governor ordered them hanged from a tree and an Indian woman, who had been captured at Nisohone, guided him, and he went back to look for the road. Two days later, he reached another wretched land called Lacane. 264
There he captured an Indian who said that the land of Nondacao was a very 265
populous region and the houses scat-

tered about one from another as is customary in mountains, and that there was abundance of maize. The cacique and his Indians came weeping like those of Maguatex, that being their custom in token of obedience. [the governor] He made him / a gift of a great quantity of fish and offered to do as he should order. He took his leave of him and gave him a guide to the province
266 of Soacatino.

[f. cxliiii, *r*]

¶ Chapter XXXIIII. How the governor went from Nondacao to Soacatino and Guasco, and crossed through an unpeopled region, whence for lack of a guide and interpreter, he returned to Nilco.

267 The governor departed from Nondacao for Soacatino and after he had marched for five days arrived at the province called Aays. The Indians who

lived there had not heard of Chris=
tians, and as soon as they perceived
that they had entered their lands, the
country was aroused. As soon as fifty
or a hundred had gathered together,
they would go out on the road to fight. 268
While some were fighting, others
came and attacked them / on another [the Christians]
side, and when some / pursued /, the [of the Christians] [the Indians]
Indians pursued them. The affair
lasted the greater part of the day be=
fore they / reached their village. [f. cxl [the Christians]
iiii,v] Some horses and Christians were
wounded, but not so badly that it pre=
sented any obstacle to their march,
for no one had a dangerous wound.
Great damage was done the Indians.
The day the governor departed thence,
the Indian who was guiding him said
that he had heard Mondacao say that 269
the Indians of Soacatino had seen
other Christians. At this all were very 270
glad, as they thought it might be true
and that they might have entered by
way of New Spain; and that, if it were
so, they would have it in their power
to get out of Florida, since they had

found nothing of profit, for they feared lest they get lost in some unpeopled
[the governor] region. That Indian led him / off the road for two days. The governor ordered him to be tortured. He said that the cacique of Mondacao, his lord, had ordered him to lead him in that way, because [f. cxlv, r] they were his enemies; and that he had to do so, since his lord so ordered. The governor ordered him thrown to the dogs, and an-
271 other one guided him to Soacatino, whither he arrived next day. It was a very poor land and there was great lack of maize there. He asked the Indians whether they knew of other Christians. They said they had heard it said that they were traveling about
272 near there to the southward. He marched for twenty days through a very poorly populated region where they endured great need and suffering; for the little maize the Indians had they hid in the forests and buried it where, after being well tired out with marching, the Christians went about trailing it, at the end of the day's

journey looking for what they must eat. On reaching a province called Guasco, they found maize with which they loaded the horses [f. cxlv, v] and the Indians whom they were taking. Thence they went to another village called Maquiscoça. The Indians said they had never heard of other Christians. The governor ordered them put to the torture and they said that they / had reached another domain ahead called Maçacaboz and had returned thence toward the west whence they had come. The governor reached Maçacaboz in two days and some Indian women were captured there. Among them was one who said that she had seen Christians and that she had been in their hands but had escaped. The governor sent a captain and fifteen horse to the place where the Indian woman said she had seen them, in order to ascertain whether there were any trace of horses or any token of their having reached there. After having gone three or four leagues, the Indian woman who [f. cxlvi, r] was guiding them said

273

[the Christians]

274

275

that all she had said was a lie; and so they considered what the other Indians had said about having seen Christians in the land of Florida. And inasmuch as the land thereabout was very poor in maize, and there was no tidings of any village westward, they returned to Guasco. There the Indians told them that ten days' journey thence toward the west was a river called
276 Daycao where they sometimes went to hunt in the mountains and to kill deer; and that on the other side of it they had seen people, but did not know what village it was. There the Christians took what maize they found and could carry and after marching for ten days through an unpeopled region reached the river of which the Indians had spoken. Ten of horse, whom the governor had sent on ahead, crossed over to the other side, and went along the road leading to the river. They came upon an[f.cxlvi,v]encampment of Indians who were living in very small
[the Christians] huts. As soon as they saw them /, they took to flight, abandoning their pos-

sessions, all of which were wretchedness and poverty. The land was so poor, that among them all, they / did not find half an "alqueire" of maize. [the Christians] 277 Those of horse captured two Indians and returned with them to the river where the governor was awaiting them. They continued to question them in order to learn from them the population to the westward, but there was no Indian in the camp who understood their language. The governor ordered the captains and principal persons summoned, in order to plan what he should do after hearing their opinions. Most of them said that in their opinion they should return to the great river of Guachoya, for there was plenty of maize at Anilco and thereabout. They said that during the winter they would make brig[f. cxlvii, r]antines and the following summer they would descend the river in them to look for the sea, and once having reached the sea, they would coast along it to New Spain which, although it seemed a difficult thing, because of

what they had already said, yet it was their last resort because they could not travel by land for lack of an interpreter. They maintained that that land beyond the river of Daycao, where they were, was the land which Cabeza de Vaca said in his relation he had traversed, and was of Indians
278 who wandered about like Arabs without having a settled abode anywhere, subsisting on prickly pears, the roots of plants, and the game they killed. And if that were so, if they entered it and found no food in order to pass the winter, they could not help but perish, for it was already the beginning of October; and if they stayed longer, they could not turn back because of the waters and snows, nor [f. cxlvii, v] could they feed themselves in such a poor land. The governor, who was desirous now of being in a place where he could sleep out his full sleep, rather than to govern and conquer a land where so many hardships presented themselves to him, at once turned
279 back to the place whence they had come.

¶ Chapter XXXV. How they returned to Nilco and went to Minoya, where they set about making ships in order to get out of the land of Florida.

WHen the plan determined on was published in the camp, there were many who regretted it keenly, for they considered the journey by sea as doubtful on account of their lack of equipment, and as risky as the journey overland; and they hoped to find a rich land [f. cxlviii,r] before reaching the land of Christians, because of what Cabeza de Vaca had told the emperor. This was that, while he had found cotton cloth, he had seen gold and silver and precious gems of much value. They had not yet reached the place where he had gone, for he had gone continually along the coast up to that point and they had gone inland. If they traveled

toward the west, they would of necessity have to come out whither he had gone. For he said that he had traveled many days in a certain direction and had penetrated inland toward the north. Already at Guasco, they had found some turquoises and cotton blankets which the Indians gave them to understand by signs were brought from the west; and if they took that way, they would reach the land of Christians. But in addition to this they were greatly discontented, and it grieved many of them [f. cxlviii, v] to turn back, for they would rather have risked death in the land of Florida than to leave it poor. They were unable to prevent what had been determined upon, because the principal men were of the governor's mind. But afterward there was one who said he would willingly put out one of his own eyes if he could put out one of Luis de Moscoso, for it grieved him greatly to see him prosperous; for which he / would have maltreated both him and others, his friends, but he did not dare do it, see-

[Moscoso]

ing that two days later, he / was to leave the command. From Daycao, where they were, it was one hundred and fifty leagues to the great river—a distance they had marched continually to the westward. On the backward journey, they found maize to eat with great difficulty, for where they had already passed the land was left devastated, and any maize which the Indians had, they had hidden. [f. cxlix, r] The towns which they had burned in Naguatex, which was now regretted by them, had now been rebuilt and the houses were full of maize. This region is very well populated and well supplied with food. Pottery is made there of refined clay, which differs but little from that of Estremoz or Montemor. At Chaguete, the Indians, by order of the cacique, came in peace and said that the Christian who had remained there refused to come. The governor wrote to him and sent him ink and paper so that he could reply. The substance of the words of the letter was to declare to him his

[Moscoso]

280

281

determination, namely, to leave the land of Florida, and to remind him that he was a Christian and should not desire to stay in the power of infidels; that he pardoned him the error he had committed in going to the Indians, and that he should come; and if they / tried to detain him, he should so inform him / in writing. The Indian went with the letter and came without [f. cxlix, v] other reply than on its back his name and rubric so that they might know he was alive. The governor sent twelve men of horse to look for him, but having his spies, he hid himself so that they could not find him. For lack of maize the governor could not stop longer to look for him. He left Chaguete and crossed the river before Aays, and going down it came to a town called Chilano, which they had not seen until then. Reaching Milco, they found so little maize, that it did not suffice for the building of ships. The cause of this was that when the Christians were at Guachoya at seed time, the Indians had not

[the Indians]
[Moscoso]
282
283

dared sow the lands of Anilco for fear of them; and they knew no other land thereabout where there was any maize. That was the most fertile land thereabout and where they had most [f. cl, r] hope of finding maize. They were all thrown into confusion; and most of them thought it had been a bad plan to have turned back from Daycao and not to have followed their fortune by going ahead by land in the way they had taken, for it seemed impossible that they could escape by sea unless a miracle were performed for them; for there was neither pilot nor chart, they did not know where the river entered the sea, they had no information concerning the latter; they had nothing with which to make sails nor enough "henequen" (a plant like tow which grew there) and what they found they were keeping to calk the brigantines; nor was there anything with which to pitch them; nor could they build ships strong enough so that they would not be placed in great danger at any untoward happening. 284

They feared greatly the fate that had befallen Narvaez who had perished on that coast; and especially the disadvantage in not finding [f. cl, v] maize, for without it they could not sustain themselves; nor could they do anything of the things they had to accomplish. All were thrown into great confusion. For their relief they commended themselves to God and besought Him to show them how to save themselves. By His goodness it was pleasing to Him that the Indians of Anilco should come in peace and say that at a distance of two days' journey thence, near the great river were two towns of which the Christians had never heard,
285 called Aminoya, and that the region was fertile. They did not know whether there was any maize there now or not, because there was war between them. But they would be very glad to go to destroy them with the help of the Christians. The governor sent a captain thither with men of horse and foot and the Indians of Anilco with him. He reached Aminoya and found two

large towns which [f. cli, r] were in an open and level region, at a half league's distance apart; and in them he captured many Indians and found a great quantity of maize. He immediately took up his lodging in one of them and sent word to the governor of what he had found, whereat all were very joyful. They left Anilco at the beginning of December. On that journey, as on that before from Chilano, they suffered great hardship, for they had to cross many waters, and often it rained with a north wind and it became very cold; added to which they found themselves in the open fields with water below and above. While on the way, if they found any dry land to rest on at night, they gave many thanks to God. Almost all the Indians of service died from these sufferings, and after they had reached Aminoya, many Christians, and most of them [f. cli, v] were ill with severe and dangerous diseases which were akin to lethargy. There 286
died André de Vasconcelos and two Portuguese of Elvas, who were of

kin to him, who were brothers and
287 called by the nickname of the Sotis.
The Christians lodged in one of the
towns, the one which appeared to
them to be the better. It was sur-
rounded with a stockade and was a
quarter of a league from the great
river. The maize of the other town
was withdrawn thither—in all esti-
288 mated at six thousand "fanegas."
For building ships there was there
the best wood they had seen in all the
land of Florida. Thereupon, all gave
hearty thanks to God for so notable a
mercy and took hope of their desire be-
ing realized, namely, that they would
come into a Christian land.

[f.clii,r]

¶ Chapter XXXVI. How seven brigantines were constructed and how they departed from Aminoya.

S soon as they were come to Aminoya, the governor ordered the chains which each one had brought for his Indians to be taken and all the iron shot and all the iron in the camp to be collected together. He ordered a forge set up, nails made, and timber cut for the brigantines. A Portuguese of Ceuta who had been taught to saw with saws while a captive at Fez—and they brought him for that reason—taught others who were aiding him to saw timber; and a man from Genoa whom it was God's will to preserve (for without him they / could not have left that land, as there was no other who knew how to build ships), together with four or five other Basque carpenters [f. clii, v] who hewed the

[the Christians]

[*ceruatões*] planks and knees / for him, built the brigantines. Two calkers, one a Genoese, and the other from Sardinia, calked them with tow from a plant
289 like daffodils (of which I have previously spoken and which is there called "henequen"). But because there was not enough of it, they calked them with flax of the country and blankets which were unraveled for that purpose. A cooper among them fell sick and was at the point of death and there was no other man who could do that work. It pleased God to give him health; and though he was very weak and could not work, two weeks ere they departed, he made for each brigantine two hogsheads called quarter casks by sailors because four of them make a water cask. The Indians of a province located two days' journey up the river, by name Tagoanate, as well as
290 those of Anilco [f. cliii, *r*] and Guachoya and others roundabout seeing that the brigantines were being built and thinking that since their harvests lay
291 along the water, it was for the purpose

of going to look for them; and because the governor asked them for blankets which were needed for use as sails, they came frequently and brought many and an abundance of fish. It surely seems that it was God's will to protect them in so great need, disposing the Indians to bring them; for there would have been no remedy except to go to take them; for, in the town 292
where they were, as soon as winter set in, they became isolated and surrounded by water, so that it was impossible to go more than a league or a league and a half by land; and they could not take their horses to get away from there, and without them there was no place where they could attack them / because there were many of them; [the Indians] and opposed on foot, one to the other, on water or land, they / [the Indians] had the advan[f. cliii, v]tage, because they were more cunning and agile; and because of the lay of the land which suited their wishes in the manner of their warfare. They also brought some ropes and what was lacking for

the cables were made from the bark of mulberry trees. They made stirrups out of wood and made anchors out of the / stirrups. [iron] In the month of March, although it had not rained in that land for over a month, the river rose in such manner that it stretched clear to Milco, nine leagues away; and the Indians said that it spread over another nine leagues of land on the other side. In the town where they / were— [the Christians] which was higher land where one could go about better—the water rose to the stirrups. Wood was piled up in heaps, and many branches laid on top, and there they fastened the horses; and in the houses they did likewise. Finding that nothing was sufficient, they climbed up [f. cliiii, r] above. And if they left the house they used canoes or went horseback in places where the land was higher. Thus they lived for two months, during which the river did not fall and during which no work was done. The Indians did not cease to come to the brigantines, for they came and went in their canoes. The gover-

nor feared lest they attack him during that time, and ordered one of those who came to the town to be seized secretly and kept until the others should be gone. One was seized and the governor ordered him tortured in order to get him to tell whether the Indians were preparing any act of treachery. He stated that the caciques of Anilco, Guachoya, Taguanate, and others—in all about twenty caciques—had planned to attack him / with a great number of men, and that three days before doing so they were to send a gift of fish in order to conceal their great treason and ill will; [f. cliiii, v] and on the very day / they were to send some Indians on ahead with another gift. These latter, with those who served / and who had conspired with them, were to set fire to the houses, but were first to possess themselves of the lances which were leaning against the doors of the houses. The caciques, with all their men, were to be placed in ambush in the woods near the town, and when they saw the fire

[the governor]

[of the attack]

[the Christians]

[the tortured Indian]
[the governor]

lit, they were to hasten and rout the horsemen. The governor ordered the Indians to be chained; and on the day of which he / spoke, thirty Indians came with fish. He / ordered their right hands cut off, and in that condition sent them to the cacique of Guacboya to whom they belonged. He ordered them to tell him that he and the others could come whenever they wished, for he desired nothing better; but that he should know that they could think of nothing which he did not know before they had thought of it. There[f. clv, r]upon, they were all greatly terrified. The caciques of Anilco and Taguanate came to excuse themselves; and a few days later the cacique of Guacboya came, accompanied by one of his principal Indians and vassals. He said that by trustworthy information which he had, the caciques of Anilco and Taguanete had made an agreement to come to make war on the Christians. As soon as Indians came from Anilco, the governor questioned them and they confessed

that this was true. He immediately handed them over to the principal man of Guachoya who led them outside the town and killed them. On the morrow, others came from Taguanete and they also confessed. The governor ordered their right hands and nostrils cut off and sent them to the cacique. Thereupon, those of Guachoya were very happy and came frequently bearing gifts of blankets, fish, and hogs which had been bred [f. clv, v] from some sows which had got lost there the year before. As soon as the waters fell, they agreed with the governor that he should send men to Taguanate. They came with canoes in which men of foot went down the river and a captain with men of horse and the Indians of Guachoya who guided him went overland until reaching Taguanete. They as- 293
saulted the town, capturing Indian men and women and blankets, which with those they had, were sufficient for their needs. The building of the brigantines having been completed in 294
the month of June, although the In-

dians had declared that the river rose only once during the year, namely, when the snows melted—at the time I have already mentioned it as having risen—it now being summer and a long time having passed since it had rained, it was God's will that the water rising came up to the town until it reached the brigantines, whence they were taken by water [f. clvi, r] to the river; for had they been taken over by land, there would have been danger of their breaking and their bottoms opening up and being altogether disjointed, because for lack of iron the spikes were short and the planks and timbers thin. During their stay there, the Indians of Aminoya, forced by necessity, came to serve them, so that they might give them some of the ears of maize they had taken from them. And since the land was fertile and they were accustomed to eat maize, and [the Christians] they / had taken from them / all [the Indians] they had, and the people were many in number, they could not sustain themselves. Those who came to the town

were so weak and enfeebled that they had no flesh on their bones; and many near the town died of pure hunger and weakness. The governor ordered, under grievous penalties, that no maize should be given them. However, seeing that they had no lack of hogs and that they [f. clvi, v] were submitting themselves to serve them; and seeing their wretchedness and pitiful condition, having shared with them their maize out of pity for them: when they came to the time of embarking, there was not as much as was necessary. What there was they loaded into the brigantines and into large canoes fastened together in pairs. They put twenty-two horses aboard—the best ones in camp—and the rest were made into salt meat; and they did the same with the hogs they had. They left Aminoya on the second day of July, 1543. 295 296

¶ Chapter XXXVII. How the Indians of Quigaltam attacked the Christians on the river while going

on their voyage and of what happened.

The day before they left Aminoya, they made up their minds to dismiss the Indians of service whom they had—both men and women—[f. clvii, *r*] with the exception of some hundred or so whom the governor embarked or let those whom he wished embark. And because there were many persons of quality to whom he could not refuse what he granted to others, he made use of a trick saying that while they [the Indians] were on the river, they / might serve them, but that as soon as they reached the sea, they would have to abandon them because of the need of water, there being but few casks. To his friends he said in secret that they [their Indians] should take them /, that they could take them to New Spain; and all those for whom he did not have a good countenance—who were in the majority—

ignorant of what was concealed from them (which time later made known) thought it inhuman for so short a time of service, in payment of the great service they had performed, to take them away in order to abandon them outside their lands to become captives of others. [f. clvii, v] They abandoned five hundred head of Indians, male and female, among whom were many boys and girls who spoke and understood Spanish. Most of them were overcome with weeping, which was a great pity seeing that they had all readily become Christians and were now lost. Three hundred and twenty-two Spaniards left Aminoya in seven brigantines, of good construction except that the planks were thin because of the shortness of the spikes and they were not pitched. They had no decks by which to keep the water from coming in. In place of decks, they laid planks so that the sailors could go above to fasten the sails and the men might be sheltered below and above. The governor appointed captains of

them and gave each one his brigantine, taking from each one [f. clviii, r] his oath and word that he would be obedient to him until reaching the land of Christians. The governor took one of the brigantines for himself—the one he considered best. The day they left Aminoya, they passed Guachoya where the Indians were awaiting them
[the Indians] in canoes on the river. They / had built a large arbor on land and be-
[the governor] sought them to disembark. But he / excused himself and passed by at a distance. The Indians accompanied him in their canoes. Coming to where
297 an arm of the river led off to the right, they said that the province of Quigual-
298 tam lay nearby. They importuned the governor to go to make war on them, and said that they would aid him. But
[Quigaltam] since they had said that it / lay three days' journey below, it seemed to the governor that they had planned some [f. clviii, v] treachery against him. There he took his leave of them and proceeded on his voyage where the force of the water was greater. The current was

very powerful and, aided by their oars, they journeyed at a good rate. The first day they landed in a wood on the left side of the river and at night they collected in the brigantines. Next day they came to a town where they landed, but the people there did not dare await them. An Indian woman whom they captured there, on being questioned, said that that town belonged to a cacique called Hubasene, a vassal of Quigaltam, and that Quigaltan was awaiting them with many men. Men of horse went down the river and found some houses in which was considerable maize. They immediately went there and stopped for a day, during which they threshed out and gathered what maize they needed. While they were there [f. clix, r] many Indians came down the river in canoes and placed themselves somewhat carelessly in form of battle in front on the other side. The governor sent in two canoes what crossbowmen he had and what men could get into them. They / took to flight, but seeing that [the Indians]

the Spaniards could not overtake them, gaining courage they turned back and coming nearer and shouting menaced them. As soon as they left
[the Indians] there, they / followed after them, some in canoes and others on land along the river. Going ahead of them, when they
299 reached a town near the bluff, they all united, as if to show that they were of a mind to wait there. Each brigantine had a canoe fastened astern for its use. Men immediately entered them all
[the governor] and put the Indians to flight. He / burned the [f. clix, v] town. Then on that day they landed at a large open field where the Indians did not dare
[the Indians] await them. Next day, they / got together one hundred canoes, some of which held sixty or seventy Indians, and those of the principal men with
[the principal Indians] their awnings, and they / with white and colored plumes of feathers as a device. They came within two cross-bow-flights of the brigantines, and sent three Indians in one small canoe with a false message so that they might see the nature of the brigantines and

the weapons they had. On coming up to the governor's brigantine, one of the Indians went in and told the governor that the cacique of Quigaltam, his lord, sent him to implore his protection, and to inform him that whatever the Indians of Guachoya had told him was false, namely, that they had revolted because they were [f. clx, r] his enemies; that he was his servitor and considered himself as such. The governor answered him saying that he believed all he said to be true and that he appreciated his friendship highly. Thereupon, they went to the place where the others were awaiting them in their canoes; and from that place, they / all came down and came upon the Spaniards yelling and threatening them. The governor sent Juan de Guzmán, who had been captain of foot in Florida, in the canoes with twenty-five armed men to get them / out of the way. As soon as the Indians saw them coming, they divided into two bands and remained still until the Spaniards reached them, when

[the Indians]

300 : [the Indians]

putting out from each side, they came together, taking between them Juan de Guzmán and those who came ahead with him [f. clx, v] and closed with them with great fury. Since their canoes were larger and since many of them jumped into the water in order to keep them upright, and others to seize the canoes of the Spaniards, and cause them to overturn, they immediately overturned them. The Christians fell into the water and because of the weight of their armor sank to the bottom. And if any, by swimming or laying hold of a canoe, were able to keep afloat, they [the Indians] / struck them over the head with their paddles and the clubs they were carrying and made them sink. When the men in the brigantine beheld their defeat, although they desired to aid them, they were unable to turn back because of the current of the river. Four Spaniards escaped to that brigantine which was nearest the canoes; and these only of all who had gone to the Indians escaped. Eleven men were killed there, among [f. clxi, r] them being

Juan de Guzmán and a son of Don Carlos called Juan de Vargas. Most, also, were persons of honor and men of much bearing. Those who escaped by swimming said they saw the Indians enter one of their canoes by the stern with Juan de Guzmán, but whether they bore him away dead or alive, they could not determine. 301

¶ Chapter XXXVIII. Which relates how they were pursued by the Indians.

THE Indians, on seeing that they had gained the victory, were so greatly encouraged that they went out to engage the brigantines which they had not dared to do before. First they went to that in which Calderón was captain. It was going in the rear guard. At the [f. clxi, v] first flight of arrows twenty-five men were wounded. In the brigantine were only four men with armor. These were sta-

tioned at the side in order to defend it. Those who had no armor, seeing that they were being wounded, abandoned the oars and hid away below the covering. The brigantine began to run crosswise and to go whither the current of the water might bear it. On seeing this, one of the men in armor, without awaiting the captain's approval for his action, forced a foot soldier to take the oar and steer the brigantine, placing himself before him and covering him with his shield. The Indians did not come up nearer than an arrow's flight, where they took the offensive without being attacked and without receiving any injury, for there was not above one crossbow in each brigantine, and those that there were, were now in very bad condition; so that the Christians did nothing else [f. clxii, r] except to stand as a mark waiting for their arrows. Having left that brigantine, [the Indians] they / went to another and fought against it for half an hour. And in this way they circulated from one to

another of them all. The Christians had brought mats to put under themselves which were doubled and very close and strong so that the arrows did not pierce them. As soon as the Indians gave them time, the brigantines were hung with them. The Indians, seeing that they could not shoot direct, shot their arrows haphazardly into the air which fell down into the brigantines and wounded some of the men. Not satisfied with this, they tried to get at those who were coming in the canoes with the horses. Those of the brigantines came about in order to protect them and convoyed them in their midst. And now, finding themselves so closely pursued by them and so tired out that they could not endure it [f. clxii, v] they resolved to travel all that night following, thinking that they would pass by the land of Quigualtam and that they / would leave them. But when they were going along more freely, thinking that they / had already left them, they heard very loud cries hard by, which stunned

[the Indians]

[the Indians]

them. In this manner, they followed us that night and the next day, until noon, when we had now reached the land of others whom they advised to treat us in the same way; and so they did. Those of Quigualtam returned to their own lands and the others in fifty canoes, continued to fight us for a whole day and night. They boarded one of the brigantines which was coming as a rearguard by means of the canoe which it bore astern, and they took away an Indian woman whom they found in it. And from there they wounded some of those in the brigan-
[f. clxiii, r]tine. Those who came in the canoes with the horses, wearied out with paddling night and day, some-
302 times allowed themselves to rest. Then the Indians were on them at once, and the men in the brigantines would wait for them. The governor made up his mind to land and kill the horses, because of the slowness with which they sailed on account of them. As soon as they saw a place suitable for this, they went thither and killed

the horses there, and loaded the meat into the brigantines after salting it. They left four or five of the horses alive on the shore and the Indians went up to them after the Spaniards had embarked. The horses were unused to them and began to neigh and to run about in various directions, whereat the Indians jumped into the water for fear of them. Entering their canoes behind the brigantines, they [f. cl xiii, v] continued to shoot at them without any pity and followed us that afternoon and the night following until ten o'clock next morning, and then went back up stream. Soon seven canoes came out from a small town located near the river and followed them for a short distance down the river shooting at them. But seeing that because of their small number they were doing them / little injury, they went back to their town. After that they had no trouble, until they came almost to the sea. They went for seventeen days along the river, a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues or

[the Christians]

303 : 304

[the river] : 305

so. Near the sea, it / divided into two branches each of which was about a league and a half wide.

¶ Chapter XXXIX. How they reached the sea; and what happened to them before and after they started their voyage.

[f. clxiiii, r]

A Half league before they came to the sea, they anchored there for a day to rest, for they were very tired from rowing and greatly disheartened because of the many days during which they had eaten nothing but parched and boiled maize, which was doled out in a ration of a leveled-off helmet to each mess of three. While they were there, seven canoes of Indians came to attack those in the canoes they / brought. The governor ordered armed men to enter / and go out against them / and put them to flight. They / also came to

[the Christians]

[the canoes] [the Indians]

[the Indians]

attack them by land through a thicket and a swamp. They had clubs set with very sharp fishbones, and with these they fought courageously with those of us who sallied out to oppose them. The others who came in their [f. clxiiii, v] canoes were awaiting with their arrows those who went out to them; and as soon as we came up, both those on land and those in canoes wounded some of us. When they saw that they / were approaching, they would turn about face, and like swift horses before foot soldiers, would make off, and after turning hither and thither, and again gathering together without ever getting farther away than an arrow's flight, for thus gathering they would come on shooting without receiving any injury from the Christians. For, although they / had some bows, they did not know how to shoot with them, and came on rowing, breaking their arms to come up /. The Indians kept circling tirelessly around them in their canoes, waiting and turning about as if in a skirmish. Those / who

[the Christians]

[the Christians]

[to the Indians]

[Christians]

[the Indians] went after them / seeing that they could do them no harm; and that the
[the Christians] closer they / obstinately tried to ap-
[the Indians] proach them /, the more injury they received: as soon as [f. clxv, r] they managed to drive them off, they returned to the brigantines. They stayed there two days. From thence they went to the place where that branch of the
306 river flowed into the sea. They took soundings in the river near the sea and found a depth of forty fathoms. They stopped there and the governor ordered all and every one of them to state his opinion regarding their voyage—whether, committing themselves to the sea, they should cross direct to New Spain, or whether they should go coasting along. There were various opinions about this. In this matter, Juan de Añasco, who had great self-conceit and set high value on his understanding of navigation and sea matters, but who really had small experience in its practice, influenced the governor. His opinion accorded with that of some others who said that it

was much better to take to the open sea and cross the gulf—a voyage one-fourth as long—[f. clxv, v] for if they coasted along, they would make many windings, because of the bends in the land: Juan de Añasco saying that he had seen the sailing chart and that where they were, the coast ran east and west to the river Las Palmas, 307
and from the river Las Palmas to New Spain, it ran north and south, and for that reason, if they went continuously within sight of land, they would make a great circuit and their course would be very slow. They would also run great danger of winter overtaking them ere they could reach a Christian land. They could arrive within ten or twelve days by crossing, if they had good weather. The majority opposed this opinion and said it would be safer to coast along even if it did take longer, for their ships had little strength, had no decks, and a slight storm would be enough to wreck them, and if calm or contrary weather should come upon them because of the

[f. clxvi, r] small space they had for water, they would also run great risk. Even were the ships such that they could venture in them, since they had no pilot or sailing chart by which to steer, to cross over was not a good counsel. This opinion of the majority was confirmed, and they agreed to coast along. When they were about to depart, the cable by which the anchor of the governor's brigantine was cast, broke, and the anchor was lost in the river; and although they were near land, so great was the depth of water that however much swimmers looked for it, it could not be found. This was the cause of great distress to the governor and to all in his brigantine. With a stone for grinding maize which they had brought along, and the bridles still remaining to some of those hidalgos and gentlemen who [f. clxvi, v] had horses, they made a weight which passed by way of remedy for an anchor. On July 18, they put out to sea and undertook their voyage amid calm and fair weather. The governor, accompanied by Juan

de Añasco, put out to sea in their brigantines, and all followed them. On seeing that they had got two or three leagues offshore, the captains of the other brigantines overtook them and asked the governor why he was holding offshore, / that if he intended to leave the coast, he ought to say so, but that he should not do so without getting the opinion of all, and that if he tried to act in any other manner, they would not follow him, but each one would do what seemed best to him. The governor answered saying that he would do nothing without their advice, but that he desired to leave the land in order to be able to sail better and safer by night, and that next day [f. clxvii, r] when it was time he would return within sight of land. They sailed that day with a fine wind, the night following and the next day until vespers always in fresh water, at which they were greatly surprised, for they were very far offshore. But so great is the force of the current of the river, and the coast there so shallow

308

[and said]

and gentle that fresh water runs out
309 very far into the sea. That night, they
310 saw some keys on the right, whither
they went. They rested there that
night. There Juan de Añasco, by
means of his arguments, finished by
getting all to consent and consider it
proper to take to the open sea, saying,
as he had said already, that it would be
a great advantage and would shorten
their voyage greatly. They sailed for
two days and when they tried to return
within sight of land, they could not,
because the wind was blowing off-
shore. On the fourth day, seeing that
the water [f. clxvii, v] was giving out, and
fearing want and danger, they all
cursed Juan de Añasco and the gover-
nor who had taken his advice. Each one
of the captains declared that he would
never again get away from the land,
although the governor could go wher-
ever he wished. It was God's will that
the wind should shift, although only a
bit, and four days after having taken
to the open sea, and now in need of
water, they came within sight of land

by dint of rowing and, after great labor, reached it along an unsheltered beach. That afternoon, the wind veered to the south, which is a cross wind along that coast and drove the brigantines ashore, for it was a very stiff wind; and the anchors straightened out because they had little iron and went dragging. The governor ordered them all into the water, and by placing themselves on the land side and [f. clxviii, r] by forcing the brigantines seaward when the wave passed by, they kept them up until the wind softened.

¶ Chapter XL. How some/got lost from others because of the storm and afterward came together on a key. [of the brigantines] 311

After the storm had ceased, they landed on the beach where they were and by means of some hoes they had brought along they dug some holeswhich filled with fresh water with which they

filled their water casks. Next day they left that place and sailed for two days; and entered a small creek like an estuary sheltered from a south wind which was then blowing and which was contrary to them. Four days passed before they could leave there; and as soon as the sea became quiet, they [f. clxviii, v] went out by rowing. They went along that day and about eventide the wind strengthened so that it drove them ashore and they regretted having left there, for as soon as night fell the storm began to rage on sea and the wind to strengthen more and more because of the storm. The brigantines got lost one from the other. The two farthest out to sea went two leagues beyond the place where the others were that night and entered an arm of the sea which ran up into the land. The five which were behind, separated one from the other by a distance of a league or a half league found themselves without knowing anything of one another on a very unsheltered beach where the wind and wave

drove them ashore, for the anchors straightened out and went dragging and the oars could not keep them / upright, although [f. clxix, r] seven or eight men laid hold of one oar and rowed seaward. All the other men leaped into the water and as the wave which was driving the brigantine a= shore passed by, they pushed it sea= ward with as much force as possible. Before another wave came, other men bailed out with bowls the water they had shipped. While suffering this hazard of fortune, in great fear of be= ing lost there, from midnight on they had to endure an insufferable torment from myriads of mosquitoes which came upon them and which caused an irritation whenever they stung as if they were poisonous. In the morning the sea calmed and the wind softened, but not the mosquitoes; and although the sails were white, in the morning, they appeared black with them. The men who were at the oars, could not row unless other men drove them / away. The [f. clxix, v] terror and danger

[the brigantines]

312

[the mosquitoes]

of the storm having subsided, upon beholding the disfigurement of their faces and the slaps which they had given one another to drive them / away, [the mosquitoes] [the brigantines] they laughed. They / came together in the estuary where were the two brigantines which had gone on ahead. There a scum was found called "copee" which the sea cast up and which 313 resembles pitch (with which they pitch their ships in certain regions where pitch is lacking). There they pitched [there] their brigantines. They stayed / two days and then resumed their voyage. They sailed another two days and anchored at a bay or arm of the sea where they stayed two days. The day they left, six men went up the bay in a canoe but did not come to its head. They left there with a south wind which was against them, but since it was light and their desire to shorten their voyage great, they went out by rowing [f. clxx, r] into the sea, and journeyed for two days in that way and with great toil, a very little distance, and entered 314 behind an islet by means of a branch

of the sea which surrounded it /. While they were there, such weather ensued that they gave fervent thanks to God that they had reached such a shelter. There was an abundance of fish there which they caught with nets and a hook. A man threw out a hook with a line, tying the end of it about his arm. A fish seized it and drew him into the water until he was up to his neck. It was God's will that he remembered his knife which he drew out and cut the line therewith. They stayed there fourteen days, at the end of which God was pleased to send them good weather. Because of that, they very devoutly arranged a procession and walked along the beach praying God to take them to a land where they might serve Him better. [the islet]

315

¶ Chapter XL [*i.e.*, XLI]. How they came to the river of Panico.

[f. clxx, *v*]

ALl along the seacoast wherever they dug, they found water. There they filled their casks and after the procession was ended, they embarked, and always keeping within sight of land, sailed for six days. Juan de Añasco said that they would do well to put out to sea, for he had seen the sailing chart and remembered that the coast ran north and south from the
316 river of Palmas on, and that so far it had run east and west. According to his opinion, judging by his reckonings, the river of Palmas ought not to be far from where they were. That night they put out to sea and in the morning, over the rim of the water, beheld palm trees and the coast running north and south; and from noon on great mountains [f. clxxi, *r*] which they

had not seen thitherto; for from that point to the port of Espiritu Santo where they had entered Florida, it was a very level and low land, and for that reason it could not be seen except when they were very close to it. From what they saw, they believed that that night they had passed the river of Palmas, which is sixty leagues from that of Panico, which is in New Spain. All 317
gathered together. Some said that they would do well not to sail by night, in order not to pass the river of Panico; and others, that it was not advisable to lose time during favoring weather, and that it could not be so near that they would pass it that night. They agreed to set the sails half reefed and sail in that way. Two brigantines which sailed that night with all sails set passed the river of Panico at dawn without seeing it. The first to arrive of the five which were behind [f. clxxi, v] was that of which Calderón was captain. For a quarter of a league before they reached it, and before they saw it, they saw the water was muddy and

perceived that it was fresh. Coming opposite the river, they saw that water was breaking over a shoal where it flowed into the sea. Because there was no one there who knew it, they were in doubt as to whether they should enter or pass by at a distance. They made up their minds to enter, and they put in to land before reaching the current, and entered the port. As soon as they were inside, they saw Indians, both men and women, on the shore, clad according to the Spanish custom, whom they asked in what land they were. They replied in the Spanish language that that was the river of Panico and that the town of the Christians was fifteen leagues inland. The joy received by all at this news could not [f. clxxii, r] be wholly told. For it seemed to them that then they had received birth. Many leaped ashore and kissed the ground and kneeling down with hands and eyes raised to heaven, one and all ceased not to give thanks to God. As soon as those who were coming behind saw Calderón

with his brigantine anchored in the river, they immediately set out thither and entered the port. The two other brigantines which had passed beyond, put out to sea in order to turn back to look for the others, but they could not because the wind was against them and the sea was choppy. Fearing lest they be lost, they ran toward the land and anchored. While there, a storm came up, and seeing that they could not hold themselves there, nor less in the sea, they determined to run up on the land. And as the brigantines were small, they [f. clxxii, v] drew but little water, and as there was a sandy beach there, the force of their sails drove them to dry land without harm coming to the men in them. At that time, if those in the port were very joyful, these / felt a double sadness in their hearts, for they knew nothing of the others, nor in what land they were, and feared lest it be one of hostile Indians. They came out two leagues below the port, and as soon as they found themselves free of the sea, each one

[on the beach]

took as much of his clothing as he could carry on his back. They went inland and found Indians who told them where they were, whereat their sorrow was turned into joy. They gave many thanks to God for having delivered them from so many dangers.

[f. clxxiii, r]

¶ Chapter XLII. How they reached Panico and how they were received by the inhabitants.

From the time they went out from the great river of Florida into the sea until they reached the river of Panico, they took fifty-two days. They entered the river of Panico on the tenth of September of the year 1543. They went upstream with their brigantines for four days; and as the wind was light and frequently useless to them because of the many windings of the river; and in towing them up because of the powerful current in many

places they could for this reason make but little headway, and with heavy toil; and seeing that the accomplishment of their desire—namely, to see themselves among Christians and to see the divine offices celebrated which they had not seen for so long—was delayed: they left the brigantines to the [f. clxxiii, v] sailors and went overland to Panico. All were clad in deerskins, tanned and dyed black—namely, cassocks, breeches, and shoes. Upon entering Panico, they went immediately to the church to pray and give thanks to God for having so miraculously saved them. The inhabitants, whom the Indians had already advised and who knew of their coming, took them to their homes and entertained them—some among them whom they knew and with whom they had had contact, or because they had come from their districts. The alcalde mayor took the governor to his home, and all the others, as soon as they arrived, he sent to lodgings in groups of six and ten, according to the capacity of each of the

inhabitants; and all were supplied by their hosts with many hens, maize bread, and fruits of the land, [f.clxxiiii,r] which are identical with those of Cuba of which I have spoken above. The
318 town of Panico has about seventy householders. Most of them have houses of cut stone; some are of wood
[rama] / and all are thatched with hay. The land is poor and there is no gold or silver in it. People there are very well supplied with food and service. The richest do not have an income of five hundred cruzados at the outside, which they get in cotton clothing, fowls, and maize, paid to them as tribute by the Indians, their vassals. Of those who left Florida, three hundred and eleven Christians entered that port. The alcalde mayor immediately sent one of the citizens by post to inform the viceroy, Don Antonio de
319 Mendoza (who was living in Mexico) that of the men who had gone with Fernando de Soto to conquer and explore Florida, there had [f. clxxiiii, v]
320 ported there three hundred men, for

whom he had determined to provide since they came in the service of his Majesty. At this, the viceroy and all those of Mexico were surprised, for they considered them lost because they had plunged into the land of Florida, and they had had no news of them for a long time. It seemed to them a marvel that they could sustain themselves for so long a time among heathen being without a fortress where they might build strongholds and without any other relief. The viceroy immediately issued an order in which he decreed that, wherever they should be ordered, the necessary food and Indian porters should be given them; and wherever any refused to make provision, they could take by force what they needed without incurring any penalty. That order was so well obeyed that on the way before they reached the towns [f. clxxv, r] the people went out to meet them with fowls and food.

¶ Chapter XLIII. Of the favor they

found with the viceroy and inhabitants of Mexico.

321 From Panico to the great city of Mestitam Mexico is a distance of sixty leagues. There are another sixty leagues, both from Panico and from Mexico to the port of Vera Cruz where one embarks for Spain and where those on their way to New Spain land. Those three towns, which were settled by Spaniards, form a triangle, to wit, with Vera Cruz at the south, Panico at the east, and Mexico at the west, with a distance of sixty leagues one from the other. The land is so thickly populated with Indians that from town to town those which are farthest apart [f.clxxv,v] are separated only by a league or half a league. Some of those who came from Florida remained in Panico for a month resting and others for a fortnight—each as long as he wished, for no one showed a long face

toward his guests, but gave them every-
thing they had, and showed they were
sorry when they bade them goodbye.
This can be believed, for the food which
the Indians gave as tribute was more
than enough for them, and there was
nothing to buy or sell in that town. Few
Spaniards were there and rejoiced to
talk with them. The alcalde mayor di-
vided among all who wished to go to
get it, all the clothing there belonging
to the emperor (which is paid there / [by the Indians]
as taxes). Those who still had coats
of mail rejoiced, for each one found a
horse there / for it. [f. clxxvi, r] Some [in exchange]
got mounts, and those who could not
(the majority of them) set out on their
journey afoot. On their way they were
well received by the Indians who abode
in their towns, and better served than
they could have been in their own
homes, even though they lived decent-
ly as to food. For, if they asked an 324
Indian for a hen, he would bring
four; and if they asked for some fruit,
they would go off running for it, even
if it were a league away. And if any

Christian were ill, they would carry him from one town to the next in a chair. To whatever town they came, the cacique, through the agency of an Indian who carried a rod of justice in his hand (whom they call "tapile," signifying magistrate), ordered them to be supplied with provisions and Indians as bearers of any clothing they had and for carrying those who [f. clxxvi, v] were ill, as many as were needed. The viceroy sent a Portuguese to a distance of twenty leagues from Mexico with a quantity of sugar, raisins, pomegranates, and other things given to sick people, for those who might have need of them. He had determined to clothe them all at the emperor's cost. And the inhabitants of Mexico having heard that they were coming, went out to meet them; and with great courtesy requesting it as a favor, each one took to his home those whom he could and gave them clothing—each the best he could—so that he who was least well clad had clothing worth thirty cruzados and upward.

325 [*Meirinho*]

To all who cared to go to the lodging of the viceroy, the latter ordered clothing to be given, and those who were persons of quality ate at his table. For men of lesser sort, he had a table in his house for all [f. clxxvii, r] who cared to eat at it. He was immediately informed who each one was, in order to show him the honor he merited. Some of the conquistadors placed them all, both gentlemen and peasants, at the same table with themselves and frequently made the servant sit shoulder to shoulder beside his master. This was mainly done by artisans and men of low sort. However, those of better breeding, asked who each one was and differentiated among persons. But all did what they could with great goodwill, each telling those he had in his house not to be vexed or hesitate to take what was given them, for they had formerly beheld themselves in like circumstances and others had helped them and that such was the custom in that land. May God reward them; and those whom He was pleased to let escape

from Florida and come to the land of Chris[f. clxxvii, v]tians, may it please Him that this be for His service; and to those who died there and all those who believe in Him and confess His holy faith, may He grant them through His mercy the glory of paradise. Amen.

¶ Chapter XLIIII. Which declares certain diversities and peculiarities of the land of Florida; and the products and birds and animals of that land.

FRom the port of Espiritu Santo, where they landed when they entered Florida, to the province of Ocute, a distance of about four hundred leagues or so, the land is very level and has many lakes and thick woods. In places there are wild pine groves and the soil is lean, and without a mountain or [f. clxxviii, r] hill in it. The land of

Ocute is the most fertile and vigorous and has the most open forest and very excellent fields along the rivers. From Ocute to Cutifachiqui is a distance of about one hundred and thirty leagues, eighty of which are without inhabitants and covered with many wild pine groves. Large rivers flow through the uninhabited part. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala is a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues, all the land being mountainous. Cutifachiqui and Xuala are located on level ground, high, and with excellent river meadows. Thence, as far as Chiaha, 326
Coça, and Talise, the land is level, dry, and fertile, and greatly abounding in maize. From Xuala to Tascaluça is a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues. From Tascaluça to the great river it is about three hundred leagues, the land being low and having many swamps. From the great 327
river onward, the land is higher and open and the most densely populated of all the land of Florida. And along [f. clxxviii, v] this river, from Aquixo to

Pacaha and Coligoa, a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, the land is level and covered with open forest, and in places has very fertile and pleasant fields. From Coligoa to Autiamque is a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues of mountainous country. From Autiamque to Guacay is a distance of about two hundred and thirty leagues of level land. From Aguacay to Daycao, a distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, is all a mountainous country. From the port of Espiritu Santo to Apalache, they marched from east to west and northeast; from Cutifachiqui to Xuala, from south to north; from Xuala to Coça, from east to west, from Coça to Tascaluça, and to the great river as far as the provinces of Quizquiz and Aquixo, from east to west; from Aquixo to Pacaha, northward; from Pacaha to Tula, from east to west; and from Tula to Autiamque, from north to south, as far as the province of Guachoya and Daycao. The bread which is eaten in all [f. clxxix, r] the land

of Florida is of maize which resembles coarse millet. This maize is found in all the islands and Indies of Castile from the Antilles on. In Florida, there are also many walnuts, plums, mulberries, and grapes. They sow and harvest the maize, each one cultivating his own. The fruits are common to all, for they grow very abundantly in the open fields, without it being necessary to plant or cultivate them. Wherever there are mountains, there are chestnuts. They are somewhat smaller than those of Spain. From the great river westward, the walnuts differ from the others, for they are easier to crush 330
and shaped like acorns. From the 331
great river to the port, they are, for the most part, hard and the trees and walnuts seem similar to those of Spain. In all parts of the country is a fruit [f. clxxix, v] which comes from a plant like "ligoacam," which the In- 332
dians sow. The fruit resembles the royal pear, and has an excellent smell and a delicious taste. Another plant

grows in the open field, which produces a fruit near the ground like the strawberry, which is very tasty. The plums are of two kinds, red and gray,
333 of the form and size of walnuts. They have three or four stones. They are better than all those of Spain and they make much better dried ones of them. Only in the grapes can one perceive the lack of cultivation, which, although they are large have large seeds. All the other fruits are very perfect and less harmful than those of Spain. In Florida, are many bears and lions, wolves, deer, jackals, cats, and rabbits. There are many wild fowl there, as large as peafowls, small partridges [f. clxxx, r] like those of Africa, cranes, ducks, turtle doves, thrushes, and sparrows. There are certain black
334 birds which are larger than sparrows and smaller than starlings. There are goshawks, falcons, sparrowhawks, and all the birds of prey found in Spain. The Indians are well proportioned. Those of the flat lands are of taller stature and better built than those of

the mountains. Those of the interior are better supplied with maize and clothing native to the country than those of the coast. The land along the coast is lean and poor; and the more warlike people are along the coast. 335
From the port of Espiritu Santo to Apalache, and from Apalache to the river of Palmas / from east to west; [the land runs]
from the river of Palmas to New Spain, from north to south, with a gentle coast, but with many shoals and high sand hills.

Deo Gratias.

[f. clxxx, v]

¶ This relation of the discovery of
Florida was printed in the
house of André de Burgos,
printer and gentleman
of the house of the
Lord Cardinal
Infante.
336
It was finished on the tenth day of
February of the year one thousand
five hundred and fifty=seven in
the noble and ever loyal
city of Evora.

Silveira. Undoubtedly the Fernão da Silveira who died at Evora in 1569, the son of Francisco da Silveira. He fought in Africa and India; and on his return to Portugal was held in high esteem by João III. and Queen Catharina. He was called the "heroic poet." His family, which was localized about Evora, produced a number of poets. See Maximiliano Lemos, *Encyclopedia Portugueza Illustrada,* X. 162. 1: p. 2.

Soto. The best biography in English of Hernando de Soto is that by Theodore Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores* (London, New York, and Toronto, Longmans, Green & Co., 1930). Soto's full name (see Antonio del Solar y Taboada and José de Rújula y de Ochotorena, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto,* Badajoz, 1929, pp. 29–34, 41–46, 53–60) was Hernán (Hernando, Fernando) Méndez de Soto y Gutiérrez Cardeñosa; and on both sides he was descended from illustrious forebears. His parents were Francisco Méndez de Soto and Leonor Arias Tinoco, the latter of whom came from the city of Badajoz and was of Portuguese ancestry. Considerable confusion exists with regard to various details of his life. He is said, for instance, to have been born in Villanueva de la Serena, Villanueva de Barcarrota (today simply Barcarrota), the city of Badajoz, and Jerez de los Caballeros. The last place is probably the correct one for that was the home of his parents (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 38–39). Again, his birth has been placed as early as 1496 and as late as 1501. If he was forty-two at the time of his death, he must have been born in 1500 or 1501. His first journey to the new world probably occurred in 1519 instead of in 1514 as some say. In the Indies, he served under the notorious 2: p. 5.

Pedrárias Dávila, by whom he was sent on several raiding and punitive expeditions, and, in 1524, he took part in the expedition against Gil González Dávila under the command of Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, during which he was captured and then released by the former. Later, he was made regidor of León, in Guatemala, and shortly after was invited to take part in the conquest of Peru. For this he furnished a contingent of men and a number of horses, and was considered next in importance after Francisco and Hernando Pizarro. He succeeded in capturing the last Inca ruler, Atahuallpa (the Atabalipa of the text) and shared heavily in the spoils of the conquest. In Peru, he contracted relations with Leonor Coya, daughter of the chief Guaynacapac, by whom he had a natural daughter, also called Leonor (see "Testamento de Doña Leonor Coya," Archivo de Indias, 109–1–15–20/4; published in Solar and Rújula, *ut supra,* pp. 191–197). While still in Guatemala he had formed a partnership with Hernán Ponce de León and Francisco Campanón, each obligating himself to share equally in all his possessions with the other two. The latter died shortly after the triple compact was made. A later agreement made with Ponce de León, however, became the matter of a long lawsuit between Ponce de León and his heirs and Isabel de Bobadilla. A copy of the latter agreement, dated at Cuzco, June 27, 1535, as reaffirmed at Havana, May 13, 1539, five days before the expedition left for Florida, is in AI, 50–2–55/10, Papeles de Justicia, no. 750 (a), pieza 1ª. fols. 56–62 (published in Solar and Rújula, *ut supra,* pp. 79–89; copy of the original contract of 1535 also among the Harkness Papers in the Library of Congress, *q.v.,* be-

✠ Adelantado Hernando de Soto

low). Shortly after his return to Spain in 1536, Soto married Isabel de Bobadilla (the daughter of Pedrárias), whose mother (also Isabel de Bobadilla) was a relative of that Beatrice de Bobadilla, the friend and confidante of Isabel the Catholic. It might be of interest to recall here that the sister of his wife had married Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific, who was also from Jerez de los Caballeros. In Spain, prior to his departure on his Florida expedition, he was admitted into the Order of Santiago (see Solar and Rújula, *ut supra,* pp. 123–155). By nature, Soto, although a product of his age, seems to have been far more humane than most of his contemporaries, but on occasion (and generally only when he deemed it necessary) he could be ruthless enough. He inspired almost unquestioning obedience in his followers, but by his rashness and lack of judgment at times, joined with a streak of obstinacy, notwithstanding many admirable traits, he seems to have lacked some of the qualities of a great leader. For accounts and estimates of Soto, see the following: Oviedo, in Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto,* II. 59; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru;* Buckingham Smith, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866), pp. ix–xxvi (reprinted in Bourne, *ut supra,* II. 169–192); Maynard, *ut supra;* and Francis Borgia Steck, *Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition,* a reprint from *Mid-America,* July, 1932.

Among the papers of the Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress, three have reference to Soto: 1. A "Carta de compañia e hermandad," signed by Captains Hernán Ponce de León and Hernando de Soto: "a renewal and ratification of a fraternal

partnership which had existed between them for eighteen or nineteen years, in which they agree to share whatever they may have or obtain by profit, mining, in war, or from any other source; also any royal commissions for offices or commands" (Cuzco, June 27, 1535; see above for mention of a third renewal of this contract). 2. A "Carta de poder" given by Ponce de León to Captain Hernando de Soto: "Full authority to recover gold, jewels, merchandise, horses, ships, negroes, Indians, and give receipts therefor; to conduct all phases of suits; to petition the Crown for offices and cedulas and *provisiones* of *haciendas* in reward for his services; to enter into contracts; to purchase and rent property; to appoint procuradores in his place and revoke such appointment" (Cuzco, July 12, 1535). 3. A "bill for merchandise" bought by Soto. The "items include velvet, silk, linen, satin, gloves, a velvet cap, a brush, some thread. Some of them were taken by Roman, some by Piçarro, the tailor, and one item by De Soto's Indian" (July 10–31, 1536). See *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress. Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts concerning Peru,* 1531–1651 (Washington, 1932), compiled by Stella R. Clemence, Nos. 83, 86, and 97. Other papers are listed in the calendar of documents in Vol. II. of *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* (Madrid, 1930), published by the Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América. In the first (No. 222), dated February 27, 1538, "Don Fernando de Soto, adelantado of Florida and governor of the Island of Cuba, in the name of Nuño de Tovar, obligates himself to pay to Nicolas de Aramburu, acting for Pascual de Andagoya, regidor of Panama, two hun-

dred ducats of gold, which the aforesaid Nuño de Tovar, in the name of the above-mentioned Andagoya collected from Pedro and Melchor de Espinosa" (the entire document is reproduced in Appendix VI, pp. 469–471). In the second (No. 469), dated January 8, 1540, "Captain Fernán Ponce de León, acting for Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, wife of Don Fernando de Soto, governor and captain general of the conquests of Florida and the island of Fernandina, gives his power of attorney to Francisco Hurtado and to Diego del Castillo, to solicit the certification of the 792,000 maravedis which were taken from him for his Majesty's service" p. 112. In the third (No. 497), dated March 13, 1540, "Cristobal Francesquin and Diego Martínez, public bankers, acting for Don Hernando de Soto, adelantado of Florida, give power of attorney to Gonzalo de Herrera to collect for the aforesaid adelantado, the 300,000 maravedis *de juro* corresponding to the two preceding years" (reproduced in Appendix X, pp. 478–479). Much material, still unpublished in full, exists in the Archives of the Indies (AI) in Seville.

Pedrárias Dávila. His correct name was Pedro Arias de Avila. He was probably born at Segovia about the year 1440 and died at León, Nicaragua, in July, 1530. For information concerning his career, see Clement R. Markham's translation of Pascual de Andagoya's *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro, and of the Discovery of the South Sea and the Coasts of Peru and Nicaragua* (Hakluyt Society Publications, No. XXXIV, London, 1865) —taking note that Markham's translations are not always above reproach; Martín Fernández de Navarrete, 3: p. 5.

Colección de los Viages (Madrid, 1825–1837); Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America* (London, 1861): I. 373–520, 76–86; Maynard, *ut supra.*

4: p. 6. *Pizarro.* Probably Francisco Pizarro is meant here. Hernando (Fernando) Pizarro was the half brother of the great commander and of all the sons of their common father the only legitimate child. Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, marqués de las Charcas y de los Atabillos, was born in Trujillo, Cáceres, in 1470, or somewhat later, and was assassinated in Lima, June 26, 1541. For information relative to his career, see Prescott, *Conquest of Peru;* Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America;* Rómulo Cúneo-Vidal, *Vida del Conquistador del Perú* (Barcelona, 1925); Maynard, *ut supra.* There are a number of Pizarro letters in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, at San Marino, California. See also the calendar of *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress,* for various material connected with Pizarro and his expedition; also the early Peruvian manuscripts in the New York Public Library.

Hernando Pizarro was born in Trujillo some time before Francisco and is said to have died in the same city in 1578. Reared to the profession of arms, he fought with his father in the Italian and other campaigns. He only (after Francisco Pizarro) exceeded Soto in authority during the Peruvian conquest. Before his death he apparently became blind (see Clemence, *The Harkness Collection,* p. 252 "Carta de poder," of May 25, 1578, given by Pizarro and his wife to Martín de Anpuero). Three documents concerning him are recorded in the *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla,* II. namely, Nos. 196, 451, and 606. See

also Prescott, *Conquest of Peru;* and *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLV. 183–184; and Cúneo Vidal, *ut supra.*

Atabalipa. That is, Atahuallpa, the last Inca ruler. 5: p. 6.

Cruzados. The cruzado was a silver coin first minted in Castile during the reign of Enrique II. It took its name from the cross on the obverse. At first it was valued at one silver maravedí, but the value was later reduced to a third that amount. The cruzado of the text, however, was a later gold coin minted during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. At first this was equivalent to seven pesetas, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the value had risen to ten pesetas. A document of 1489 states that it was equal to a ducat. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XVI. 683; and Fray Liciniano Saez, *Demostración histórica del verdadero Valor de todas las Monedas que corrian en Castilla durante el Reynado del Señor Don Enrique* IV (Madrid, 1805), p. 283. 6: p. 6.

Reales. Hakluyt in his translation of the *Relaçam* (*Virginia richly valued,* London, 1609) says wrongly 60,000, as do the French translation of 1685 and the translation of the latter into English (1686). The real was a silver coin first minted in Castile. The earliest coin struck was probably equivalent to the sixty-sixth part of a marco (or 50 castellanos), but this was later changed by the Catholic Kings to the sixty-seventh part. The present real, which is no longer coined as such, is valued at twenty-five centimos. Values are still largely quoted in reals, especially by the common people. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLIX. 1008–1009. 7: p. 6.

Casa de Contratación. The Casa de Contratación or India House of Trade intervened largely in the early Spanish expeditions to America. It was created by royal cédula 8: p. 6.

of February 14, 1503, and was to consist of three officials, namely, a factor, a treasurer, and a notary (see Joseph de Veitia Linage, *Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales,* Seville, 1672, pp. 2–3). See also Bernard Moses, "The Casa de Contratacion of Seville," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for* 1894 (Washington, 1895), pp. 93–123.

9: p. 7. *Juan de Añasco.* Juan de Añasco, who was evidently born in Seville, joined Soto there after the latter's return from Peru; and on the organization of the expedition was made its accountant, this being one of the royal official positions of the expedition. On November 14, 1536, he witnessed the "conveyance of dower by the widow of Pedrárias Dávila to Hernando de Soto, in consideration of the espousal of her daughter" (see Buckingham Smith, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto,* p. 264, note). Smith also (p. 273) publishes a translation of a royal cédula of Valladolid, May 4, 1537, granting him authority to trade with the Indians of Florida "so long as there are no duties on imports in that province." On May 13, 1539, five days before the expedition left Havana for Florida, he witnessed two documents, namely, the second renewal of the contract between Soto and Hernan Ponce de León, and the full authorization given by Soto to Ponce de León to redeem his rights in the silks of Granada in which Soto had made an investment (see Solar and Rújula, *ut supra,* pp. 89, 206). On the day of departure from Havana, together with Juan Gaytán, the treasurer, and Luis Hernández de Biedma, the factor, he wrote to the king to the effect that Soto had been detained in Cuba longer than he had wished (see B. Smith, *ut supra,* p. 273).

Soto, as is shown by the text, seems at all times to have reposed considerable reliance upon him.

Luis Moscoso de Alvarado. Luis Moscoso de Alvarado was born in Badajoz in 1505 and died in Peru about 1561. He was the son of Comendador Alonso Hernández de Diosdado and Isabel de Alvarado, inhabitants of Zafra (see Solar and Rújula, p. 329). He was a relative of Pedro de Alvarado and participated with the latter in some of his enterprises, thereby gaining considerable profit; and took part in the early Peruvian campaign. He later went to Spain, where he entered upon a life of dissipation and soon lost most of his possessions. He joined Soto's expedition and after the death of the latter led the remnant of the band to Mexico, reaching Pánuco on September 10, 1543. Two of his brothers, namely, Juan de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Mosquera, accompanied him (see Solar and Rújula, p. 329). He witnessed the agreement made between Soto and Ponce de León at Cuzco, on June 27, 1535 (see *ante,* note 2); and on July 10, 1535, at Cuzco, he gave a "Carta de poder" to Antón Ruiz de Guevara "to claim and collect all gold, silver, jewels, negro slaves, horses, and Indians belonging to him as assignee of Adelantado Pedro de Alvarado and to give letters of payment and quittance therefor, with full powers to act in any conflict arising therefrom" (see Clemence, *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress,* No. 90). 10: p. 7.

The only Tovar mentioned in the "Relacion de las Personas que pasaron a la Florida para la Empresa de Hernando de Soto" (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 275–334) is one "Diego de Tovar, son of Rodrigo de Tovar and Beatrice de Segovia, inhabitants of Marchena (see

p. 327). He is not mentioned in the list reproduced by Buckingham Smith of those who returned from Florida (Smith, pp. 292–299). Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca* (Lisbona, 1605), says (fol. 10) that Nuño Touar was one of the sixty conquistadors of Peru and that he was a native of Xerez de Badajoz.

Juan Rodriguez Lobillo is called Johan Ruiz Lobillo by Rangel (see *post,* note 53). He is given in the list of those who returned from Florida, and the place of his residence as Ronda (see Buckingham Smith, *Narratives,* p. 296). A Juan Ruiz Lobillo gave a "Carta de poder" to one Beranga in Xauxa, Peru, on February 22, 1634 (see Clemence, *The Harkness Collection,* No. 58). Documents Nos. 161 and 163 of *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* also treat of Juan Ruiz Lobillo, former conquistador and settler of Peru. It is probable that this is the same man as the Juan Rodriguez Lobillo of our text.

11: p. 7. *Isabel de Bobadilla.* See *ante,* note 2. She married Hernando de Soto in 1537. Upon his departure for Florida, Soto left her in virtual charge of the government of Cuba (but see *post,* note 46). She was an able and strong-willed woman. On the occasion of her marriage, her mother executed a document ("Escritura de dote y arras de Doña Isabel de Bobadilla") by which the dower given with her daughter amounted in value to six thousand ducats, and consisted of the cattle, mares, and their increase, as well as all the buildings of a ranch in Panama owned by Pedrárias Dávila. See Solar and Rújula, *ut supra,* pp. 157–166 (original of this document in AI, 50–2–55/10, Papeles de Justicia, 750). Before he left Havana for Florida, Soto gave his wife (May 17, 1539)

power of attorney by which she was authorized to administer all his properties during his absence (see this in Solar and Rújula, pp. 167–177—original in AI, 50–2–55/10). On June 2, 1539, only about a fortnight after her husband's departure for Florida, Isabel, by virtue of the power of attorney given her, summoned Hernán Ponce de León by due course of law to state whether he were in accordance with the documents of partnership contract he had signed with Soto (see *ante,* note 2), for it had been reported that he had stated before royal notary that he had signed the contracts under compulsion (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 179–184; original in AI, 50–2–55/10). This was the beginning of the long lawsuit between these two and the heirs of Ponce de León. It is perhaps doubtful that Isabel died shortly after hearing of her husband's death.

Conquer. A long document of April 20, 1537 (conserved in AI, 32–4–29/35—another copy in 50–2–55/10) granted to Hernando de Soto the titles of governor, captain general, and adelantado of Florida. This specified fully the conditions under which the expedition was to be undertaken. Another royal decree of equal date conferred on him also the governorship of the island of Cuba (see *Colección de Documentos inéditos . . . de América y Oceanía,* XXII. 534–546—see English translation by Buckingham Smith in his *Narratives,* pp. 266–272). Another decree, dated Valladolid, May 4, 1537, also set forth that Soto was to be governor of Cuba during the period of the conquest, but that he was to appoint an alcalde mayor (who must also be a lawyer) to act as his agent during his absence (see *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* IV. 431–437—original in

12: p. 7.

AI, 79–4–1). A separate decree of the same date (AI, 50–2–55/10) also granted him the titles of adelantado and captain general of Florida (see this in Solar and Rújula, pp. 289–290). By a decree of August 18, 1537, Soto was granted permission to take what food was necessary from Cuba (AI, 32–4–29/35) and on August 20, he was granted additional privileges (AI, *ibid.*). On August 14, 1543, a decree dispatched from Valladolid, granted the title of governor of the island of Fernandina (an early name of the island of Cuba) to Licentiate Juanes de Avila in place of Soto from whom no news had been received (*Col. de Doc. inéd., . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 190–195—original in AI, 46–4–1/33). Licentiate Bartolomé Ortiz had been alcalde mayor for Soto in Cuba (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 204–209—original in AI, 47–2–23/18).

13: p. 8. *Narvaez.* Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer of the expedition of Pánfilo de Narvaez to Florida in 1527, was one of four survivors of that expedition to reach Mexico. His narrative of 1542 will be reproduced in facsimile, with a new translation into English in a future volume to be published by The Florida State Historical Society. For information relative to the Narvaez expedition, see Buckingham Smith, *Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca* (New York, 1871); Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements* (New York, 1901), pp. 172–212; and Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), pp. 26–45.

14: p. 9. *Dorantes.* Andrés Dorantes, one of the four survivors of the Narvaez expedition.

15: p. 11. *Reales.* Buckingham Smith in his translation, following Hakluyt (1609), the French translation of 1685, and the

English translation of 1686, says wrongly 60,000 reals.

Niece. In his will, which is dated San Cristobal de la Habana, May 10, 1639, Soto makes provision for this relative as follows: "Also, I order that, inasmuch as I gave Isabel de Soto, my niece, in marriage to Don Carlos Enríquez, and it was arranged that I should give her at her marriage whatever dowry I might wish to give, I order that three thousand ducats be given him from my property, which are included in the dowry of marriage of the said Doña Isabel de Soto, my niece" (Solar and Rújula, p. 214). Buckingham Smith (*Narratives,* p. 276) also translates this passage of the will, but mistranslates "sobrina" as "cousin." 16: p. 11.

Fernandez. It has been generally assumed that one of these Portuguese who accompanied Soto was the author of the present relation. 17: p. 12.

Geiras. A land measure denoting the area a team of oxen can plough in a day. By some it is given as a rectangle 120 x 240 feet. Roughly it might be considered as the equivalent of the French arpent or the English acre. 18: p. 13.

Biedma. The correct name is Luis Fernández de Biedma, not "Antonio" as here. He was appointed factor of the expedition by a royal decree of Madrid, December 10, 1537; and his duties were outlined in a later decree of Valladolid, January 14, 1538 (original in AI, 32–4–29–35). He wrote a relation of the expedition which was published in a rather free French translation by Henri Ternaux-Compans (*Voyages Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir á l'Histoire de l'Amérique,* Paris, 1841, XX. 51–106). An English adaptation made from the French of Ternaux-Compans was published by B. F. French, *Historical Collection of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 19: p. 13.

1850), and a translation from the same source appeared in William B. Rye, *Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida* (London, 1851). It was published in Spanish for the first time by Buckingham Smith in his *Colección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida* (Londres, 1857); and in his *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866), Smith published a new English translation (pp. 229–261). It was also published in Spanish in *Colección de Doc. inéd. . . . de América,* III. (1865), 414–441. Fernández de Biedma also signed the letter from the royal officials to the Spanish monarch, written from Havana on May 18, 1539, announcing that the expedition was about to leave Cuba for Florida (see *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 54–56—original manuscript in AI, 51–1–34, No. 1;—and translation into English by Buckingham Smith, *Narratives,* pp. 281–282). His account (probably official) of the expedition is short, but on the whole an excellent report.

20: p. 13. *Añasco.* See *ante,* note 9.

21: p. 13. *Juan Gaytán.* A document in AI, 32–4–29/35 contains a decree of May 4, 1537, outlining the duties of the treasurer of the expedition, Diego de Corral, but this man evidently did not go on the expedition after all. Another decree in the same legajo is addressed to one Jorge Gaytán. Gaytán signed the letter of May 18, 1539 (see *ante,* note 19). He was one of those who returned from Florida (see Buckingham Smith, *Narr.,* p. 295) where he is mentioned as a native of Talavera la Reina.

22: p. 15. *Six hundred men.* Fernández de Biedma says there were 620 men and 223 horses (see B. Smith, *Narr.,* p. 221). Solar and Rújula (pp. 275–334) give a list of those who went on the expedition—almost 650 in number. How-

ever, the list (original in AI, 45–1–1/17) is not altogether accurate, for the names of some who actually went do not appear; and others whose names are in the list evidently did not go. In the list, it is interesting to note, is the name of Juan Coles, the witness cited by Garcilaso de la Vega in his *La Florida del Inca,* who he said furnished him valuable material for his book. The entry relative to Coles is as follows: "Juan Coles, son of Juan Coles and Luisa Rodríguez, inhabitants of Zafra" (p. 323). All but three of the Portuguese mentioned in the text can be identified in this list, but they are mentioned as being inhabitants of Badajoz (probably in order to avoid any charge of taking foreigners on the expedition). Those who have been identified are André de Vasconcelos, Men Rodriguez (probably the "Mem" of the text), Alvaro Hernandez (for Alvaro Fernandez), Benito Hernandez (for Bento Fernandez), Juan Cordero (for Ioam Cordeiro), and Esteban Pegado. See also *post,* note 24.

Daughter. The governor of the Canaries was a cousin of Isabel de Bobadilla, and his natural daughter was named Leonor. See Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores,* p. 132. 23: p. 17.

Whitsuntide. The cabildo of the city of Santiago, in a letter of July 26, 1538 (abstract in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 36–37; and apparently given in full in B. Smith, *Narr.,* pp. 288–291, where he wrongly dates it 1539) mentions the arrival in Cuba of Soto and his men on June 7 with five ships and 600 men and says that preparations were being made for the voyage to Florida. As his alcalde mayor he had appointed Licentiate Bartolomé Ortiz. The arrival in Cuba is noted also in a 24: p. 17.

letter of July 20, 1538 (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 27–35) by Gonzalo de Guzmán, formerly lieutenant governor in Cuba, as follows: "On June 7, Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto reached this port with six vessels and a fine body of men, about five hundred in all, who say they comprise the whole body" (p. 33). The arrival is mentioned also in a letter of August 1, 1538, written by Bernardo de Quesada, procurator of Santiago (*ibid.,* pp. 39–42), who says: "On June 9 of this present year, there arrived in this island of Cuba and city of Santiago, Hernando de Soto, governor of this island and adelantado of Florida, with over five hundred men" (p. 39).

25: p. 18. *Need.* In his letter of July 20, 1538 (see *ante,* note 24) Gonzalo de Guzmán says (pp. 33–34) in speaking of the arrival of Soto and his men in Cuba: "They disembarked at this port and were lodged in this city, and in the farms of the inhabitants thereof, from which all have received much inconvenience; for since many ships coming from the coast of Tierra Firme are always putting in at this port, the greatest and sole profit of the inhabitants of this city is that of selling them all the provisions which they obtain and possess. And on that account and because this year has been very unproductive, we have had so great a lack of food that there was not even enough for all the inhabitants. And it comes to pass that, although the people had need of it, he has so much need of it that it seems to me that, without abundance of food, neither war nor pacification can be made. And, together with this, [there is] less money with which to provide food, wherever it can be found. What I have regretted in him is that he is planning to stay in

this island until this may be remedied in one way or another; and that, in fact, the inhabitants have suffered and are suffering much inconvenience because of the food which they are giving to all his men at their own expense. Outside of this, I see ability and so good a manner in his person that I believe he will achieve a better result than the previous ones. Please God that this may not be so prejudicial to the island, that we inhabitants thereof may have to abandon it; for, besides having supported and supporting him and his men, we learn that they are going to take some of our young men and inhabitants away with them; and without them we can give up everything and live with difficulty in the land. He has his eyes and his thought so fixed on Florida that he will give little heed to the loss of this land. We can not help complaining loudly for the present and because of what I have mentioned, for especially we are expecting the Indians in revolt to cause great harm daily, and since the aforementioned Soto came they have done us a great deal of hurt, so that, although the island has greater need of aid, a greater loss comes upon it. For we are sure that he can not leave here these eight months, and although there is not enough to feed the natives, the necessity of feeding five hundred men at the latters' expense, whatever remedy is sought it can not but come late."

Quesada (see *ante*, note 24) says also (pp. 39–40): "He was lodged in this city of Santiago and its environs and on the farms of the inhabitants of this city, and they have been fed until now without the inhabitants having had any gain therefrom. The inhabitants of this city are in revolt, because for two years, one after the other, the

weather has been very poor for the raising of provisions. On this account, the inhabitants are experiencing considerable trouble in supporting so many people at their own expense. Since this island has been a mother for the settling of New Spain and the supplying of Tierra Firme, and since after the discovery of Peru, many provisions and horses and Spanish Christians have left this island, it is considerably depopulated and bereft of any one to act for it, and if your Majesty does not remedy it, it is headed clear for destruction.

"Its destruction is that Governor Hernando de Soto is going away on his conquest of Florida and will try to take all the Spaniards who are most useful in keeping this island peaceful, and prevent the inhabitants of this island from selling horses or provisions to Tierra Firme or Peru; for hitherto, the inhabitants have been aided by selling horses and provisions to the ships coming to look for them for Tierra Firme and Peru. Since Governor Hernando de Soto is now preventing that, as I have said, the inhabitants of this island and your Majesty's subjects are receiving very great injury and the country is being depopulated. And although your Majesty has little income in this island at present, it has been because of supporting other places where your Majesty has many subjects and much income." See also, *post*, note 37.

26: p. 18. *Houses.* For the early history of Santiago de Cuba, see Irene A. Wright, *The early History of Cuba, 1492–1586* (New York, 1916).

27: p. 19. *Mamei.* The mammee apple, sometimes called the St. Domingo apricot (*Mammea Americana*). Both tree and fruit were described by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y

Valdés in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid ed., 1851–1852), I., book VIII, chapter XX, "Del Arbol mamey ó de su fructa, llamada assi mismo mamey," pp. 305–307; and by Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Mundo Nuevo* (Seville, 1890–1893), II. 20–21. The fruit, which is still much esteemed today, has also medicinal value.

Potatoes. The cassava root has played an important rôle in the history of the world. The land of its origin is still a moot question (see Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America,* Philadelphia, 1920–1922, I. 210–216). The name "cassava" properly designates the starchy content of the plant, but has been extended to the plant itself. The proper common name is "manioc" and the commercial product is called "tapioca." There are two varieties, the bitter and the sweet, so designated from the amount of prussic acid present. The sweet variety has been grown extensively in Florida for many years and to some extent in other southern states of the United States. See Harvey W. Wiley, *Sweet Cassava: its Culture, Properties, and Uses,* Bull. No. 44, Division of Chemistry, United States Department of Agriculture (Washington, 1894); and Charles C. Moore, *Cassava: its Content of Hydrocyanic Acid and Starch and other Properties,* Bull. No. 106, *ibid.* (Washington, 1907). Much has been written about this plant, both in old and modern works. Among early writers, consult Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid, 1851), I., book VII, chap. II., "Del pan de las Indias que se llama caçabi . . ."; José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590), pp. 239–240 (Eng. transl., *The natvrall and morall Historie*

28: p. 20.

of the East and West Indies, London, 1604, pp. 257–258); and Jean Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Antilles habiteés par les François* (Paris, 1667–1671), II., Traite III, section XIV, pp. 112–118.

29: p. 21. *Meat.* These wild cattle and hogs had escaped from the Spaniards who introduced them into the island of Española and others of the West Indies. The wild cattle, especially, were destined to play a large part in the conquering and peopling of America. To exploit them, men of various nationalities formed themselves into bands, especially in Española and later in Jamaica; and from the method employed in curing the carcasses of the cattle, were called buccaneers (from the Indian word *boucan*). See Exquemelin's interesting narrative, *Bucaniers of America,* which first appeared in Dutch, but was later translated into many languages. Many dogs also escaped from civilization.

30: p. 22. *Cuba.* The island of Cuba, exclusive of the Isle of Pines and many of the nearby keys, has an area of about 43,000 sq. mi. It is 730 miles long by 20 to 90 miles wide.

31: p. 22. *Houses.* For the early history of Havana, see Irene A. Wright, *Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana en el Siglo* XVI (Havana, 1927); and *The early History of Cuba.*

32: p. 22. *Island.* Santiago was the metropolitan see for Florida during the Spanish occupation of the latter. See James Alexander Robertson, "Notes on early Church Government in Spanish Florida," in *Catholic Historical Review,* XVII., July, 1931, pp. 151–174.

33: p. 23. *Hands.* Buckingham Smith, evidently following Hakluyt, who makes the same error, mistranslates this passage, saying "with a cudgel in his hands."

Brother-in-law. The French translation of 1685 and its English translation of 1686 call Carlos a cousin of Soto. In reality he had married Soto's niece (see *ante*, note 16). 34: p. 23.

Eastern. So in our text, but certainly an error for "western." This was probably an error of the printer, who must have mistaken the word "loeste" meaning "west" for "leste" meaning "east." Hakluyt corrected the error without comment. 35: p. 24.

Bayamo. The Spanish town of Bayamo—called from its old Indian name—was founded by the conquistador, Diego Velázquez (see Wright, *Early History of Cuba*). The town is located on the Bayamo River, a branch of the Cauto. In his letter of July 20, 1538, Gonzalo Guzmán notes (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 32–33) that the inhabitants of Bayamo were considering changing its location, and asks that they be forbidden to do this. 36: p. 24.

Indians. The Bishop of Cuba, writing to Charles V. on August 15, 1539 (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 58) said: "As soon as Soto arrived, he ordered that no person, under penalty of death, should sell horses or provisions outside the island. He has taken 250 horses, has supported 500 men for almost a year, and has taken provisions for another year—all this without paying scarcely any money. How much hurt he has caused the inhabitants who maintain themselves by their farms and their animals! Add to this that he has taken with him the men of the island who are of use in war. This will cause the Indians to revolt and it is to be feared that they will leave not a single Christian alive." See also *ante*, note 25. 37: p. 24.

Gonzalo de Guzmán, in a letter to the monarch on

August 28, 1539 (abstract by Muñoz in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 59–60) said: "Soto, in addition to having been a year with his men eating at the expense of the inhabitants, committed two very grievous wrongs: 1. By depriving the island of its greatest source of gain, for he ordered that neither provisions nor horses be exported, since which time no vessels have been coming here and the people are in a desperate condition. 2. By taking Porcallo, who was in the province of the city of Trinidad in the middle of the island, who by himself had more wealth than four ports together and was greatly feared. Soto is sending everything to Florida where he will have to stay and this island is done for." The account of Juan de Agramonte, written at Santiago, on September 3, 1539 (AI, 54–1–34, No. 2; also published in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar,* VI. 61–68) says: "The other reason [for the desperate condition of the island] is that Governor Don Hernando de Soto ordered, under penalty of death, that no person withdraw from this island any horses or provisions . . ."

The royal officials in their letter to the king on May 18, 1539 (see *ante,* note 19) stated that Soto was about to leave for Florida with nine ships, 237 horses, 330 foot, and altogether 513 men excluding the sailors. He also had 300 loaves of cassava bread, 2500 shoulders of bacon, and 2500 fanegas of maize; and in order to insure a continuous supply of provisions he had bought up many pasturages.

38: p. 24. *Lizards.* Alligators.

39: p. 25. *More.* The maja (*Epicrates angulifer*), which is still found. As the narrator says, it is harmless to people. It

reaches a length of about twelve feet and feeds on birds and small mammals. The name is also applied in Cuba to another snake (*Tropidophis malanurus*) which seldom reaches over a yard in length.

Porcallo. Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa was born in Cáceres, Spain, in the second half of the fifteenth century and died in Puerto Príncipe, Cuba (which he had founded), in 1550. His family was of noble extraction and related to the Dukes of Feria. Entering upon the profession of arms, he served with distinction in Spain and Italy; and when still a young man went to America and soon settled in Cuba, becoming the original settler in the province of Camaguey. There he founded the settlement of San Juan de los Remedios which soon attained to considerable importance. He was Diego Velázquez's first choice for the leader of the expedition on which Cortés entered. He became one of the wealthiest landowners in Cuba and one of the most ruthless. He was very active. He became procurator in Sancti Spiritus and aided Velázquez in the founding of Baracoa. The Bishop of Santiago in his letter of August 15, 1539 (see *ante,* note 37) reported that Soto had taken Porcallo, who was powerful, wealthy, and feared, to Florida, on which account the Indians had lost their fear of the Spaniards. However, the Florida campaign not being much to his liking because of the hardships and the small chance of getting Indian slaves, he returned to Cuba almost immediately, as related in the text. However, he left his natural son, Gómez de Figueroa, with Soto. See Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca,* book II. chap. XI, pp. 48–50, for an amusing account of Porcallo's discomfiture on the expedition to

40: p. 25.

the district of the Paracoxi, and Lowery, *Spanish Settlements . . . 1513–1561,* pp. 220–222. See also *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLVI. 459–460; and Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba, passim.* Buckingham Smith (*Colección de varios Documentos* (Londrés, 1857) reproduces a "Declaración" made by him on February 28, 1522 (pp. 45–87).

41: p. 26. *Sancti Spiritus.* In 1544, Sancti Spiritus (founded in 1514 by Diego de Velázquez) had a population of eighteen citizens, fifty-eight free Indians on encomiendas, fourteen Negro, and fifty Indian, slaves. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XIII. 1189; and Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba, passim.*

42: p. 28. *River.* Probably the Yayabo.

43: p. 28. *Trinidad.* Founded in 1514. Las Casas was one of its original settlers. See Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba, passim.*

44: p. 30. *Porcallo de Figueroa.* See *ante,* note 40.

45: p. 31. *Havana.* By a royal cédula, issued in Valladolid, March 20, 1538, Soto was ordered to construct a fort at Havana (see Wright, *Historia documentada de . . . Habana en el Siglo* XVI, I. 184). Soto delegated the building of the fort to Francisco Aceituno, an aged inhabitant of Santiago de Cuba, to whom an annual salary of 100,000 maravedís was assigned. The fort was built in seven months and Aceituno was appointed its governor with an annual salary of 75,000 maravedís (*ibid.,* pp. 16–17).

46: p. 31. *Juan de Rojas.* Juan de Rojas was for many years one of the most prominent citizens of Havana. See Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba, passim;* and *Col. de Doc. ined. . . . de Ultramar,* VI., *passim.*

47: p. 31. *Florida.* Probably at a point on Tampa Bay and not on Charlotte Harbor as some have contended. Such is the

opinion of Lowery, *Spanish Settlements . . . 1513–1561,* p. 219; as well as of Mr. John C. Cooper, Jr., of Jacksonville, Florida, who has made a careful study of this question from the evidence of narratives and maps, and of Mrs. Isabel Garrard Patterson, of Atlanta, Georgia, who is now endeavoring to establish Soto's route with more accuracy than has yet been done. Rangel (see Bourne, *Narratives,* II. 51–54) gives many details of the landing.

Ucita. Called Oçita by Rangel, Soto's private secretary, in his account of the expedition (see Bourne, *ut supra,* II. 52). The place is called the port of Baya Honda by Luis Fernández de Biedma, the factor, in his relation (see *ibid.,* II. 3). Soto probably took possession for Spain of Florida (June 3, 1539) on the shore of the bay opposite this place (see Rangel, in Bourne, *ut supra,* II. 56). 48: p. 31.

Six. Rangel (Bourne, *ut supra,* II. 54–55) says: "they lighted upon ten Indians . . . and they [the Indians] shot two horses and the Spaniards slew two Indians and put the rest to flight." 49: p. 32.

Luis de Moscoso. See *ante,* note 10. 50: p. 33.

Fortress. The remains of this artificial mound are still to be seen a few miles from Gadsdens Point (Lowery, pp. 219–220). Garcilaso de la Vega gives the name of the town as Hirriga. 51: p. 33.

Vasconcelos. One of the Portuguese from Elvas. Pedro de Calderón was the son of Rodrigo Calderón and Beatriz de Hoces, of Badajoz. He took with him his two sons, Rodrigo Calderón and Gregorio de Hoces. All three returned from Florida. See Solar and Rújula, *Hernando de Soto,* pp. 276–277; and B. Smith, *Narratives,* p. 292. Solar and Rújula (p. 281) say that there 52: p. 35.

were three of the Cardeñosa, namely, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco, sons of Gutierre García Calderón and María Romo. All three returned from Florida (see B. Smith, *Narr.*, p. 293). The name Tinoco shows that they were related to Soto through his mother.

53: p. 35. *Lobillo.* See *ante,* note 10. Captain Francisco Maldonado was the son of Rodrigo Maldonado and Beatriz Ordoñez, of Salamanca (Solar and Rújula, p. 333). He made repeated voyages in search of Soto, on one occasion going as far north as Newfoundland (see Lowery, pp. 250–251).

54: p. 35. *Indians.* Hakluyt, who is followed by the French edition of 1685 and its English translation of 1686, says "two" Indians. Rangel (Bourne, *Narr.*, II. 55) says that Añasco had seized four Indians when he went in search of a harbor in Florida before the expedition actually left Cuba. One Indian, he says, was sent by Soto to persuade the cacique to make peace. Two of the others escaped.

55: p. 38. *Huts.* Hakluyt (p. 20) mistranslates, saying that Baltasar de Gallegos had captured the four Indian women.

56: p. 38. *Life.* Rangel (Bourne, *Narr.* II. 56–57) says that Ortiz was in a band of twenty Indians, all painted red, adorned with feathers, and armed with bows and arrows. According to him, the salutation of Ortiz was "Sirs, for the love of God and of Holy Mary, slay not me; I am a Christian like yourselves and was born in Seville, and my name is Johan Ortiz." Fernández de Biedma says (Bourne, II. 4) that for more than four days, Ortiz could not speak without uttering four or five Indian words to one of Spanish.

Returned. Various writers have attempted to weave a romance about this early "Pocahontas," but with no real authority for so doing. Garcilaso de la Vega recites the episode of Ortiz with great detail (*La Florida del Inca,* fols. 39–46). Rangel (Bourne, II. 57–58) says that Mucoço was peaceful and for that reason was threatened by the other chiefs of his vicinity. 57: p. 43.

Twelve. Hakluyt (p. 25) says "ten or eleven." Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 3) says there were nine Indians, and Rangel (see note 56) twenty. Lewis, "The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto" in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528–1543* (p. 150, note) conjectures that the town of Mucoço was located west of Miakka River (Macaco of the old maps), but this is doubtful, for Lewis locates the first landfall in Florida on Charlotte Harbor instead of Tampa Bay. 58: p. 46.

Paracoxi. Paracoxi (Hurripacuxi in Fernández de Biedma, Bourne, II. 5, and Orriparacogi in Rangel, *ibid.,* p. 60) was evidently not the name of the cacique, but the title of the superior chief of the region. The name apparently reappears in the relation of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues (Frankfort, 1591) and in Laudonnière's *Histoire Notable* (Paris, 1586), where it has the forms Paraousti and Paracousi and is said to be the equivalent of king. For variants of the name, see John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors,* Bulletin No. 73, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1922, p. 327. See also Lowery, *Span. Settlements,* p. 221. 59: p. 46.

You. This and all subsequent talks attributed to the Indian caciques are undoubtedly apocryphal and simply put into the mouths of the speakers. After leaving this 60: p. 48.

cacique, Fernández de Biedma says (Bourne, II. 5) that they went for fifteen or twenty leagues to a town called Etocale (the Cale of our text) where they found food and stayed for about a week.

61: p. 49. *Espiritu Santo.* "So called from the day when the governor and his fleet arrived" (Rangel, Bourne, II. 63).

62: p. 49. *Time.* With the ships was dispatched the celebrated letter of Soto to the cabildo of Santiago de Cuba, dated July 9, 1539. An English translation will be found in B. Smith, *Letter of Hernando de Soto, and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda* (Washington, 1854), pp. 7–10, and *Narr.*, pp. 288–291; and in Bourne, II. 159–165. See also J. A. Robertson, *Documents in Span. Archives relating to the History of the U.S.*, p. 7, for location of copies of the original.

63: p. 50. *Him.* See Rangel's account of Porcallo's departure in Bourne, II. 61–62. Among other things, Rangel says: "The departure of this cavalier was regretted by many since he was a friend of good men and did much for them." It was agreed that Porcallo should still look after the provisioning of the expedition from Cuba. He seems to have kept on good terms with Isabel de Bobadilla.

64: p. 51. *Cale.* The word probably survives in the modern name "Ocala" (Rangel uses the form "Ocale"). Swanton (Bull. No. 73) says (p. 327) that it was a province "north of the Withlacoochee, not far from the present Ocala." He gives the variants Ocale, Ocaly, Etocale, Ologale. See Rangel's statement (Bourne, II. 62–63) relative to Soto's instructions to Gallegos regarding the dual reports he was to make on his explorations. In his letter of July 9, 1539, Soto says of this town: ". . . After-

wards, farther on, at the distance of two days' journey, there is another town, called Ocale. It is so large, and they so extol it, that I dare not repeat all that is said. . . . On our coming together we will march to join Baltazar de Gallegos, that we may go thence to pass the winter at Ocale, where, if what is said be true, we shall have nothing to desire." See B. Smith, *Narratives,* pp. 285–286.

Years. Rangel (Bourne, II. 63) says that the men ordered to remain behind with Calderón "were heavy in spirit." He puts them at forty horse and sixty foot. 65: p. 51.

Acela. Called "Vicela" by Rangel (Bourne, II. 65). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 330) says it was a small town somewhat south of the Withlacoochee. 66: p. 52.

Tocaste. The same form is used by Rangel. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 329) says it was located on a large lake some distance south of the Withlacoochee. See Lewis's conjecture in *Spanish Explorers,* p. 155, note 1. 67: p. 52.

Lacking. Rangel appears to have been sent on this errand (see Bourne, II. 65–66). 68: p. 52.

Blites. Probably greens of some sort. 69: p. 53.

Apalache. Rangel (Bourne, II. 69) says that Apalache "was reported to be populous." Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 5) says that several forays were made in order to get Indians for guides. 70: p. 54.

1540. Sic in our text, but an error for 1539. This is corrected by Hakluyt and by B. Smith. The date of the departure is the same in Rangel. 71: p. 55.

Ytara. Itaraholata in Rangel (Bourne, II. 69). The word "holata" means "chief" (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 323). 72: p. 55.

Utinama. The name Potano is given also by Rangel 73: p. 55.

(Bourne, II. 70); but Utinama becomes Utinamocharra in the latter.

74: p. 55. *Mala Paz.* This story is also related by Rangel (Bourne, II. 70).

75: p. 57. *Built.* The river over which the bridge was built is called the River of Discord by Rangel (Bourne, II. 71) because of certain quarrels which are not explained.

76: p. 57. *Caliquen.* Aguacalecuen in the narrative by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 5), and Aguascaleyquen in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 71). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 323) says this town and province seem to have been located between the Suwanee and its branch, the Santa Fe.

77: p. 57. *Saddled.* Hakluyt (p. 32) mistranslates this passage as follows: "and that we should be put out of doubt before it were long."

78: p. 58. *Ten.* Rangel gives the date of departure as September 9 (Bourne, II. 72).

79: p. 58. *Uzachil.* Called Veachile, by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 6), Uchachile and Uçachile by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 73), and Ossachile by Garcilaso de la Vega (*La Florida del Inca,* fols. 88–90; see also Barnard Shipp, *History of Hernando de Soto and Florida,* Philadelphia, 1881, pp. 299–301). This region may have been the seat of the Indians called Osochi, perhaps an offshoot of the Timucua (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 165–167).

80: p. 59. *Napetuca.* Rangel mentions two towns on the way to Napetuca (Napituca, Napetaca), namely Uriutina (a village of pleasant aspect and abundant food) and one called Many Waters (so called because of the heavy rains). Napetuca is located by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 327) as lying apparently in the province of Aguascalecuen, between the Suwanee and Sante Fe rivers. Ran-

gel (Bourne, II. 73) describes Napetuca as "a very pleasant village, in a pretty spot, with plenty of food." Rangel and the text agree here as to date.

Arrows. See Rangel's account of these happenings, which differs considerably in detail from that of our text (Bourne, II. 73–77). 81: p. 63.

River. Called Deer River by the men because of the occurrence noted here (see also Rangel, in Bourne, II. 77). 82: p. 64.

Hapaluya. Apalu in Rangel (Bourne, II. 78). The form Apalou appears in Laudonnière (*Histoire Notable,* fol. 93), as applied to one of the caciques. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 324) locates this district in the northwestern part of the Timucua country near Uzachil (see *ante,* note 79) in the province of Hostaqua; and says that the word signifies "fort" in Timucua. 83: p. 64.

Axille. Aguile in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 7) and Agile by Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 78). This was Asile (Swanton gives many other variants) which was an important town in the westernmost part of the Timucua country, and which later gave its name to the mission of San Miguel de Assile and to the Ocilla River (Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 324). 84: p. 66.

Forest. The last clause of this sentence is omitted by Hakluyt. 85: p. 66.

Vitachuco. Ivatachuco in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 17) and Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 79). See also Swanton, Bull., No. 73, p. 112, for other information regarding this Apalache town. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 161, note 1) points out that the day of St. Francis falls on October 4, but that this day did not come on Wednesday in 1539. Rangel (Bourne, II. 79) says the crossing was made on Friday, October 3. 86: p. 66.

87: p. 67. *Uzela.* Rangel says (Bourne, II. 79) that on Sunday, October 5, the Spaniards reached the town of Calahuchi, an Apalache town. Lewis (*Span. Explorers,* p. 161, note 3) identifies this with Uzela, but it may have been one of the other small towns thereabout.

88: p. 67. *Anhaica Apalache.* Iniahico in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 7) and Iviahica in Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 79). Swanton seems to accept the form Iniahica as the correct one (see Bull. No. 73, p. 111). The town was evidently in the neighborhood of the present Tallahassee. The Apalache Indians were a Muskhogean group, whose name in Hitchiti apparently means "on the other side." Their habitat at the time of their first discovery by Europeans was that portion of the present western part of Florida lying between the Ocilla River on the east and the Ocklochnee and its branches on the west. The center of their territory seems to have been at about the location of the present Tallahassee, but they probably extended as far north as southern Georgia. In culture they were probably midway between the other Florida Indians and their own Muskhogean relatives toward the north. Many Spanish missions were established among them in the seventeenth century.

They were first mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca in his narrative (see Adolphe Bandelier, *Journey of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca,* New York, 1922, pp. 12–13, 24, 25–26, 27, 28–34). In addition to the short notice in our text, they are mentioned by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 6–7); Rangel (*ibid.,* pp. 78–80, 82); Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, in his Memoir written about 1575 (B. Smith's translation, *Letter of Her-*

nando de Soto and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, Washington, 1854); Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca* (from Alonso de Carmona; see Bourne, II. 151–152). These references as well as later ones, are given in Swanton, Bull. No. 73 (*q.v.*, pp. 109–129). See also Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indian* (Washington, 1907), I. 67–68.

Plums. The dried plums were probably persimmons. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 117, note) calls attention to a possible misprint in the original near this point. The sentence beginning "In that town" translates as follows, if the punctuation of the original be kept "In that town, the maestre de campo, . . . lodged them all within a league and a half league about that town." The reading as suggested by Swanton is more logical and has been adopted in the present translation. 89: p. 67.

Horses. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 7) says they found the place where "the forge had stood, and many bones of horses"; and adds: "The Indians told us, through the interpreters, what others like us there had done." Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 79–80) says that Añasco recognized the place "by the headpieces of the horses and the place where the forge was set up and the mangers and the mortars that they used to grind corn and by the crosses cut in the trees." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 162, note 2) says that the Spaniards knew this place as Bahía de Caballos or Horse Bay, and identifies it as Bay Ocklockonee. 90: p. 68.

November 17. This sentence showing the date of Calderón's departure was omitted by B. Smith. Hakluyt says that Añasco set out on Saturday. The seventeenth of November really fell on Monday. 91: p. 68.

92: p. 69. *November 29.* November 29 fell on Saturday as here given.

93: p. 69. *Brigantines.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 81), gives the date of Añasco's arrival at the port as November 19, but this is an evident error. December 28 fell on Sunday as given in our text (see Bourne, II. 81, note 13).

94: p. 71. *Ochus.* This name appears later in the accounts of the expedition of Tristán de Luna y Arellano as Ochuse. Luna gave it the name Bahía de Santa María Filipina because he entered it on August 14 (the assumption of the Virgin) and in honor of Philip II. This was the harbor of Pensacola (see H. I. Priestley, *The Luna Papers,* index).

95: p. 71. *Maldonado.* Maldonado never again saw the men of the expedition. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 9) says: "as we were about to set off in quest of the country which that Indian stated to be on another sea, he must return with the brigantines to Cuba, where Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, his wife, remained, and if within six months' time he should hear nothing of us, to come with the brigantines, and run the shore as far as the River Espíritu Santo, to which we should have to resort." Rangel (*ibid.,* pp. 81–82) says that Maldonado left Apalache on February 26, 1540.

96: p. 72. *Yupaha.* Probably a reference to Cufitachiqui.

97: p. 73. *1540.* This date agrees with that given by Rangel (Bourne, II. 82).

98: p. 73. *River.* Called Guacuca by Rangel (Bourne, II. 82).

99: p. 73. *Capachiqui.* Acapachiqui in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 9) and Capachequi in Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 83). Swanton conjectures that this region belonged to the Indians now known as Hitchiti (see Bull. No. 73, p. 118).

Friday. Bourne (II. 52, note 1) points out that the 11th of the month in 1540 fell on Thursday. 100: p. 73.

Five. Rangel says "one hundred," which Bourne (II. 84, note) conjectures to be an error in transcription, "cient" being set down instead of "cinco." 101: p. 74.

Toalli. Otoa in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 10) and Toa in Rangel (*ibid.,* 84). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 12), says these various forms are synonyms of "Tamali," the name of a tribe living in what is now southern Georgia, and probably speaking a Hitchiti dialect. Rangel says they reached this place on the 23d of the month. Bourne (I. 52, note 2) notes that Wednesday fell on the 24th. 102: p. 74.

Tile. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 9–10) notices the difference of the habitations, saying: "There was a change in the habitations which were now in the earth, like caves; heretofore they were covered with palm-leaves and with grass." 103: p. 74.

Flax. The bark cloth was probably made from the inner lining of the bark of the mulberry tree. Le Page du Pratz (*Histoire de la Louisiane,* Paris, 1758, II. 191–193) describes the method of manufacture of cloth from the mulberry bark much as does our text. The fiber mentioned by our author might have been the *Urena lobata* (popularly called Caesar's weed in Florida) or the so-called false sisal (*Agave decipiens*) both of which abound in Florida. See J. H. McCulloh, Jr., *Researches Philosophical and Antiquarian concerning the aboriginal History of America* (Baltimore, 1829), p. 153; Charles Richard Dodge, *A Report on the uncultivated Bast Fibers of the United States* (Washington, 1894), p. 14, and *A Report on the Leaf Fibers of the United States* (Washington, 1893), 104: p. 76.

pp. 28–33 (these being respectively "Fiber Investigations," Nos. 6 and 5 of the Department of Agriculture). On the clothing of the Indians in Florida, see also, Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 112, 346, 387, 391.

105: p. 76. *Drowned.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 85) says: "On Tuesday morning they arrived at Toa, a large village, and the Governor wanted to go on further, but they would not suffer him. On Wednesday, the Governor went at midnight in secret with about forty horse, knights and gentlemen and some others, who for various reasons had not wished to be under another captain." Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, p. 10) says that before reaching this village, they crossed two rivers, over which they passed on bridges made by tying the trees together.

106: p. 77. *Achese.* Called Chisi by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 10) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 85). The latter says that this place was reached on the morning of Holy Thursday; and adds that "though it was Holy Thursday there was not so strict a Christian that he scrupled to eat flesh." Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 226) conjectures that the Chisi, Ichisi, or Achese (the people inhabiting this village) belonged to the Coweta, the principal body of the Lower Creeks. He calls attention to the fact that "Ochisi (Otcī'si) is a name applied to the Muskogee by Hitchiti-speaking peoples."

107: p. 79. *Ocute.* Called Ocuti by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 11). See Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 174–175, who conjectures that the Ocute Indians were identical with the Hitchiti and that this town was the Aeykite of the French census of 1760 and the Hitch-e-tee of a map of 1818.

108: p. 79. *Altamaca.* Altapaha in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne,

II. 10) and Altamaha in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 89). The great river mentioned in the text was probably the Altamaha or Oconee. This seems to have been the eastward flowing stream mentioned by Fernández de Biedma (p. 10). See also Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 95.

Hens. Turkeys. Called *guanaxas* by Rangel (Bourne, II. 86). The word "turkeys" is to be understood in all cases where the word "hens" appears in the translation. 109: p. 79.

Tamemes. According to Buckingham Smith (*Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto,* p. 222) this is a word derived from the Mexican Indians which was in current use among the Spaniards. It is from "tlamama" or "tlameme," signifying porter or carrier of loads on the back. 110: p. 81.

Patofa. Tatofa in Rangel (Bourne, II. 91), who gives the name to the chief of the village. 111: p. 84.

Youth. Called Perico by Rangel (Bourne, II. 91). 112: p. 84.

Coça. Coosa. See Priestley, *The Luna Papers* (DeLand, 1928) for the connection of the Luna y Arellano expedition of 1559–61 with this region. See also Daniel Marshall Andrews, *De Soto's Route from Cofitachequi, in Georgia, to Cosa, in Alabama* (reprint from *Amer. Anthropologist,* XIX, No. 1, 1917) pp. 65–67. 113: p. 84.

Rivers. Identified as the Great Ohoopee and Cannouchee Rivers by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 170, note). 114: p. 85.

River. Identified as the Ogeechee River by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 170, note 2). See Rangel's account of these crossings (Bourne, II. 93). Some of the swine were lost here. 115: p. 85.

Inland. Rangel (Bourne, II. 96) gives the date as Friday, April 23. His details differ somewhat from the text. On that day, Gallegos went upstream to the northwest and 116: p. 88.

Añasco downstream to the southeast. Next day, Lobillo was sent inland toward the north.

117: p. 89. *Aymay.* Hymahi in Rangel (Bourne, II. 96). The word is possibly identical with Yamassee.

118: p. 90. *Cutifachiqui.* Called Cofitachequi by Rangel (Bourne, II. 98) and Cofitachiqui by Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, p. 13). Swanton identifies it with Kasihta. For information relative to this place and conjecture regarding its location, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 216–225; and Andrews, *ut supra,* p. 57, who locates it at Silver Bluff. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 172, note) says the word is a proper Creek word and means Dog-wood Town. Swanton (p. 216) says that the word was formerly considered to be a Yuchi word, but its appearance is Muskhogean and the leading Yuchi authority has been unable to find any Yuchi word resembling it. The latest information relative to Cufitachiqui comes from Miss Mary Ross, of Berkeley, California, who has given much study to this region.

In a note written especially for this volume, Miss Ross says:

"It has been an error to have located Cufitachiqui on the Savannah River near Augusta. More misleading has been a confusion of the location of that place with the site of Atlanta. A recent study of the Soto, Pardo, and Woodward documents supplemented by a consultation of maps relative to the old southeast, and confirmed by field work in the district named has settled the question. The 'pearl kingdom' made famous by Soto's encounter with the gracious princess of that realm was in the valley of the Congaree-Broad in South Carolina. The dramatic meeting between the don and

the Indian maid took place somewhere in the general vicinity of the present town of Columbia.

"In the colorful accounts of the resolute march of Soto's men through the Florida wilderness, the provincial name for the land of the cacica was given as Cofitachyque, Cofachiqui, and Cutifachiqui. In reports on subsequent expeditions, the region is known variously as Cafatachiqui, Cano or Canosi, Caphatachaques, Chufytachique, Chufytachyqj, Chufytachyque, Chufytuchyque, Cofaciqui, Cofetazque, Cofitachiqui, Cosatachiqui, Cotachico, Tachequiha, Tatikequia, and other such appellations.

"Populous and numerous, the Cufitachiqui villages became renowned for their affluence and industry. For a full century and more that province served as a granary and way-station for expeditions en route to the interior. And on more than one occasion both Spaniards at Santa Elena (Parris Island) and Englishmen at Charlestown sought provisions and protection from the chieftains there. In times of strife the stalwart tribesmen '1000 bowmen' strong were no mean support against trouble making Westoes from the Savannah valley or wild folk from mountain fastnesses.

"Soto was the first European to covet the fruits of that Carolina land; but he was only the precursor of scores of other adventurous spirits seeking new fields to exploit. In the year 1566, Juan Pardo, intent on transcontinental trail blazing, passed through 'Canos or Cofetazque' in his effort to reach overland the distant mines of Zacatecas and San Martín. Copious streams, generous maize fields, rich vineyards, refreshing springs, and rumored mines of crystal, gold, and precious stones

called forth the opinion from Pardo's men that therein was a 'land in which to plant a chief town.'

"Eight years later, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés subscribed to the same view when questioned about moving his estate to Pánuco, and he declared that he would keep his dwelling near the Atlantic seaboard. Should he change it would be to the fertile interior near 'Guatari Cano.' In fact, Menéndez planned to establish his Asturian colonists in the Carolina foothills beyond the reaches of the lowlands and marshes that so beset agricultural ambitions at Santa Elena.

"Virginians, too, soon after the days of John Smith, sought 'crystal hills' and pearl bearing streams toward the southwest. And a half century after Menéndez's day other Spanish officials renewed diplomatic relations with the Cufitachiqui leaders and entered into an alliance against the blue-eyed strangers rumored to be riding about the country and pushing in from the north and west.

"Time passed; but the importance of Cufitachiqui did not lessen. Sedentary and stable, the villages persisted and continued to attract other white men by their bounteous maize fields and lucrative trade in deer skin and furs. In 1670, Henry Woodward, surgeon and interpreter for the Charlestown or Cayagua outpost, visited the "Chufytachique" country and entered into a league of friendship. Woodward's enthusiasm exceeded that of his Spanish predecessors and fired the imagination of royal adventurers in England. Cufitachiqui, to the worthy doctor, 'would be a second Paradize' if cultivated. Its broad acres and tall warriors, 'biger and ruder' than the coastal Indians, were vital to Charlestown;

while its 'red mould' hills gave promise of hidden treasure beneath outcroppings of 'black and white Marble.' Here were enviable prospects. Both Locke and Ashley were impressed, and step by step the white man pushed in and occupied the west.

"The memory of Soto's camp has lived on. But Cufitachiqui, like the other Indian realms that gave Carolina such a rich historical inheritance has disappeared. Only the red mould hills, pleasant valleys, copious streams, and strange outcroppings of 'anvil rocks,' or rich deposits of splendid blue granite, remain today to tell the tale of that wondrous past."—MARY ROSS.

Sister. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 13) says that the cacica sent her niece to welcome Soto to her country. She presented him a necklace of five or six strings of pearls. One half the town was turned over to the Spaniards, but after three or four days, the cacica suddenly went off into the woods. 119: p. 91.

Hens. See *ante,* note 109. 120: p. 93.

Arrobas. The arroba is a measure of capacity of approximately four gallons; or of weight, of approximately twenty-five pounds. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 14) says that after the cacica had gone away (see *ante,* note 119), Soto failing to find her ordered the graves to be opened. Rangel (Bourne, II. 100) notes that he and Soto together opened the temple where "they found some bodies . . . fastened on a barbarcoa. The breasts, belly, necks and arms and legs full of pearls"—in all about two hundred pounds. 121: p. 94.

Ayllón. Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, of a noble family of Toledo, and a man of considerable learning, went to Isla Española (Hispaniola) with Nicolas Ovando, where he 122: p. 95.

amassed considerable wealth. He filled several important posts in the island, finally becoming a member of the audiencia. In 1520, when about to go to Spain, he was appointed commander of the forces sent to Mexico at the same time that Diego Velázquez sent thither Pánfilo de Narvaez in his memorable effort to wrest the command from Cortés. Favoring the latter, he soon returned to Española as he found it impossible to reconcile the two elements. The same year, 1520, he outfitted an expedition for the purpose of coasting northward along the Atlantic, with Francisco Gordialo as captain and Alonso Fernández Sutil as pilot. His two ships fell in with Pedro de Quexos who had gone on a slavehunting expedition, and the three vessels, joining forces, landed on the mainland, and disregarding Ayllón's orders seized many Indians. Possession of the new coast was taken on June 30, 1521. On their return to Española, the Indians were set free. Ayllón himself, who had not gone personally on the expedition, went to Spain in order to obtain royal concession to explore and settle the new lands. He was granted license to explore the mainland between 35° and 37° by a royal cédula of June 12, 1523 (see *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . Amér.*, XIV. 503–515), being awarded the usual privileges in such cases. In 1525, he sent Pedro de Quexos on an exploring expedition along the mainland, who explored the coast for a distance of 250 leagues. In July, 1526, Ayllón himself sailed from Española with a company of five hundred people and eighty-nine horses, and made a settlement at San Miguel de Gualdape, in about latitude 33°. The colony, however, did not prosper, disease broke out, the Indians were hostile, and finally, the leader

died. It was one of the exploring parties sent out from the expedition which left the articles found by Soto's men. See Fernández de Biedma's mention of this expedition in Bourne, II. 14; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements, 1531–1561,* pp. 157–159; Bolton, *Span. Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), pp. 12–19; and J. A. Robertson, *List of Documents* (Washington, 1910). Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 14) says that the Spaniards found in the temple at Cufitachiqui "two wood axes of Castilian make, a rosary of jet beads, and some false pearls, which were taken from this country to traffic with the Indians." Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 100) says they found many glass beads and rosaries with their crosses as well as Biscayan axes of iron. See also Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 32–34.

Tierra Firme. Havana later became the center at which the treasure and trading ships and fleets gathered for the return to Spain; and it was also the port whence the various vessels went to their respective ports in the Indies. For the early trade, see Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies* (Cambridge, 1918); and Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdácano, *Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias* (Barcelona, 1917). Santa Marta was the second city to be erected in the new world (July 28, 1525). 123: p. 95.

May 3. Rangel (Bourne, II. 102) says that the expedition left Cufitachiqui on Wednesday, May 13; but as Bourne points out (p. 102, note 5) May 13 of that year fell on Thursday, and the date should be Thursday, May 13, or Wednesday, May 12. 124: p. 98.

Chalaque. Rangel (Bourne, II. 102) says they reached 125: p. 99.

Chalaque in two days. The name appears in Garcilaso de la Vega's narrative both as Chalaque and Chalaques. As Charles C. Royce asserts ("The Cherokee Nation of Indians," in *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* Washington, 1887, p. 135), the word is apparently the same as "Cherokee." Royce also mentions (pp. 135–136) that the Dutch cartographer, Cornely Wytfliet lays down a site named Chalaqua on his map "Florida et Apalache" (Atlas, 1597) a short distance east of the Savannah River and immediately south of the Appalachian Mountains. In his "Carte de Mexique et de la Floride" (1703), Delisle locates Chalaque at about 33° north latitude. See also the Delisle map of 1718 reproduced in this volume.

126. p. 100. *Hens.* See *ante,* note 109.

127: p. 100. *Xualla.* Xuala in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 15) and Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 103); and Chouala in Garcilaso de la Vega. The word resembles the modern Cherokee word "Qualla." Rangel locates it on a plain between two rivers. It was in the territory of the Cherokees and has been variously located in northern Georgia and in North Carolina. James Mooney locates it in western North Carolina near the head of Broad River. Cyrus Thomas and others locate it in the Nacoochee Valley in Habersham County (see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* p. 230, note 3). Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 176, note 2) locates it above the junction of the Tuckaseegee and Oconna-Luftee rivers in Swain County, North Carolina. Wytfliet in his map (see *ante,* note 125), locates it to the west of and near the headwaters of the Secco or Savannah River.

128: p. 100. *Country.* These distances appear to be greatly exag-

gerated. The Spanish league was somewhat less than three English miles.

Guaxule. Guasule in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 15) and Guasili in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 106). The latter (p. 104) says: "Tuesday, May 25, they left Xuala, and on that day went over a very high range, and at nightfall they encamped at a little mountain." Royce (*Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 135) says of the Indians of this region: "Assuming that these people, whose territory De Soto thus traversed, were the ancestors of the modern Cherokees, it is the first mention made of them by European discoverers and more than a century anterior to the period when they first became known to the pioneers of permanent European occupation and settlement." Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, p. 230) gives the route after leaving Xualla as lying across the Blue Ridge and so down the upper courses of the French Broad to Guaxule, an Indian town which he locates in White County, Georgia. French (*Hist. Col. of Louisiana*, II. 101) and Belknap (*American Biography*, Boston, 1794, I. 189) place the crossing at or about north lat. 35° (see Lowery, p. 230, note 4). 129: p. 100.

Petaca. Described in Rangel's narrative (Bourne, II. 104) as "baskets covered with leather and likewise ready to be so covered with their lids, for carrying clothes or whatever they want to." This was probably an interpolation by Oviedo. The "petaca" was probably much like the "tampipi" used in the Philippine Islands. 130: p. 101.

Cutifachiqui. Rangel (Bourne, II. 105–106) says that the cacica escaped on May 26 after they had waded through a river and on the same day and thereabout several desertions occurred. He says: "And that day there re- 131: p. 102.

mained behind, it was supposed intentionally, Mendoça de Montanjes and Alaminos of Cuba. And since Alonso Romo kept that day the rearguard and left them, the Governor made him return for them, and they waited for them one day. When they arrived, the Governor wished to hang them. In that region of Xalaque [Chalaque] was left a comrade whose name was Rodriguez, a native of Peñafiel; and also an Indian slave boy from Cuba, who knew Spanish, and belonged to a gentleman named Villegas; and there was left a slave belonging to Don Carlos, a Berber, well versed in Spanish; and also Gomez, a negro belonging to Vasco Gonçalez who spoke good Spanish. That Rodriguez was the first, and the rest deserted further on from Xalaque." This occurred, of course, before reaching Guaxule.

132: p. 102. *Chiaha.* Chiha in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 15) and in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 107); and Ychiaha in Garcilaso. A great deal of confusion seems to exist with regard to the location of this place. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 167–172) thinks there were at least three sites so named. Two of them are mentioned in the Soto narratives—one being that which had some relation to the settlement of Cufitachiqui and was known also as Lameco or Solameco (perhaps the Jalameco or Talimeco of Rangel—see Bourne, II. 98, 101—and the Talomico of Garcilaso, fol. 169). Of this name, Swanton says (p. 168) :"I venture the suggestion that all these names are intended for the same word, Talimico or Talimiko, which again was probably from Creek Tàlwa immiko, 'town its chief',—*wa* being uniformly dropped in composition." The "Chiaha" of the immediate text is that which lay down the river from Guaxule. Of it Garcilaso

says (*La Florida del Inca,* fols. 181–182) that after a four days' stay in Guaxule where he informed himself of the country round about, Soto "went in a march of six days (at the rate of five leagues per day) to another village and province called Ychiaha, whose lord had the same name. The route taken on this march of six days was that following the water of the many creeks which flowed by Gaxule, all of which uniting within a short time made a large river, so that at Ychiaha (which was located thirty leagues from Gualuxe [*sic*]) it was larger than the Guadalquivir at Seville.

"This town of Ychiaha was located at the point of a large island more than five leagues wide which was formed by the river." For conjectures regarding the location of the town, see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* p. 231, note 2. Belknap (*American Biographies,* p. 192) thinks it was located on a branch of the Mobile River. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 178, note 2) conjectures that Chiaha was located on the island at the junction of the Little Tennessee and Tennessee rivers, in Loudon County, Tennessee—that is, it is the hill village noted by Swanton.

Canasagua. Canasoga in Rangel (Bourne, II. 106). Lowery (*Spanish Settlements,* p. 231) calls it a frontier town of the Cherokees. 133: p. 102.

July 5. Hakluyt (p. 59) corrects this date silently to June 5, the date given by Rangel (Bourne, II. 107), which is the right date (see Bourne, I. 73, note 4). 134: p. 103.

Them. See *ante,* note 132. 135: p. 105.

Quiet. Hakluyt says (p. 60) "the weather was very hot." 136: p. 105.

Slaves. Of the stay in Chiaha, Rangel says (Bourne, II. 108): "The Indians spent fifteen days with the Chris- 137: p. 106.

tians in peace, and they played with them, and likewise among themselves. They swam with the Christians and helped them in every way. They ran away afterwards on Saturday, the 19th of the month, for something that the Governor asked of them; and, in short, it was because he asked for women. The next day in the morning the Governor sent to call the chief and he came immediately; and the next day the Governor took him off with him to make his people come back, and the result was they came back. In the land of this Chiaha was where the Spaniards first found fenced villages. Chiaha gave them five hundred carriers, and they consented to leave off collars and chains."

138: p. 108. *Town.* See *ante,* note 137.

139: p. 108. *Acoste.* Costehe in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 15), Coste in Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 109), and Acoste in Garcilaso (*La Florida del Inca,* fols. 184–185). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 201) identifies the Indians of this region with the Koasati, who were closely related to the Alabama.

140: p. 108. *Chisca.* Identified by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 288, 289) as a name for the Yuchi Indians (see also pp. 119, 120, 189, 202, 292–293). Swanton locates the province of Chisca "in the rough country in the eastern part of the present state of Tennessee."

141: p. 110. *Chiaha.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 108) says the expedition left Chiaha on Monday, June 28, and after passing through five or six villages spent the night in a pine grove near a village.

142: p. 112. *Come.* This incident as described by Rangel (Bourne, II. 109–110) is in fair accord with our text.

143: p. 113. *Kid.* Evidently a buffalo robe.

July 9. On Friday, according to Rangel (Bourne, II. 111). 144: p. 113.

Road. Rangel (Bourne, II. 111) discloses the reason for the peaceful reception by the cacique of Tali, namely, that Soto had frustrated his attempt to send away the women and children, and the clothing. For the Tali Indians, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 211–212. 145: p. 113.

July 16. Hakluyt (p. 55) says July 26; and the English translation (1686) of the French edition of 1685, the 15th. The town Coça (Coosa) has usually been located in what is now Talladega County, Alabama (see Bourne, II. 112, note 12, and Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* p. 232, and note 3). Lewis, *Spanish Explorers,* p. 183, note) says, however, that this village may not have been in the same location as that of later times. The Luna Expedition also reached this region about twenty years after Soto (see Priestley, *The Luna Papers,* Index; also "Invasion of De Soto in Alabama" in *De Bow's Review of the Southern and Western States,* July, 1850). For the Indians called Coosa, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 215, 241, 255. They have generally been considered a genuine Moskogee people. On the way to Coça, Rangel says (p. 111) they slept at a town called Tasqui, which Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 208) conjectures may have been occupied by the Tuskegee Indians. 146: p. 115.

Seeds. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 16) calls Coça "one of the finest countries we discovered in Florida." Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 112) says: "There were in Coça many plums like the early ones of Seville, very good; both they and the trees were like those of Spain. There were also some wild apples like those called canavales in Extremadura, small in size." 147: p. 117.

148: p. 118. *Carrying.* Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 16) simply says: "The next morning we saw all the inhabitants, and having detained the cacique, that he might give us persons to carry our loads, we tarried some days until we could get them." Rangel (*ibid.,* pp. 112–113) corroborates the statements of the text, though very briefly.

149: p. 119. *Tascaluca.* Taszaluza in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 16) and Tascaluça in Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 115). It is laid down on the 1718 map of Delisle. The name was applied both to the cacique and the region.

150: p. 119. *Tallimuchase.* Talimachusy in Rangel (Bourne, II. 113). The name means New Town (Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 247). Rangel (Bourne, II. 113) says that a Levantine named Feryada deserted at this place.

151: p. 119. *Ytaua.* Itaba in Rangel (Bourne, II. 113). The same author says that some women were bought at that place in exchange for mirrors and knives. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* appendix H, p. 452, suggests (following Mooney) that this region is identical with Yta or Etiwaw.

152: p. 119. *Ullibahali.* Ulibahali in Rangel (Bourne, II. 113), and Olibahali in Dávila Padilla (*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Prouincia de Santiago de Mexico, de la Orden de Predicadores,* Madrid, 1596, lib. I, Cap. LXII, pp. 245–246). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 192, 254) says it was a true Muskogee town and identifies it with Liwahali or Holiwahali, "a name which signifies 'to share out or divide war' (*holi,* war, *awahali,* to divide out)." See also Priestley, *The Luna Papers,* I. 225, where Fray Domingo de la Anunciación and others, writing to Luna y Arellano, at Coosa, August 1, 1560, says the town of Ulibaali, "the town mentioned so often by Soto's followers" was probably only five or six leagues away.

Place. Rangel (Bourne, II. 113–114) says there was a doubt as to whether Manzano had deserted or whether he lost his way. A Negro named Johan Biscayan, belonging to Rodríguez Lobillo, and who spoke Spanish, also deserted at this place. This Negro and one of the Spanish deserters lived for eleven or twelve years among the Indians, as was learned by one of the religious attached to the Luna y Arellano expedition (see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* p. 365, who cites Dávila Padilla). 153: p. 121.

Toasi. Tuasi in Rangel (Bourne, II. 114); identified as Tawasa by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 137). Rangel notes that thirty-two Indian women were given to Soto at this place. 154: p. 121.

Tallise. Italisi in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 16) and Talisi in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 115). A Creek town identified as Tálsi (Tulsa), by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 151). 155: p. 121.

Indians. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 16) says that the cacique made Soto a present of twenty-six or twenty-seven women at Talisi. See Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 117–119), for an interpolated homily by Oviedo on the greed and lust of Soto's men. 156: p. 122.

Casiste. Also Casiste in Rangel (Bourne, II. 116). Identified by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 131, 218, 221) as a Lower Creek town inhabited by Kasihta Indians. Rangel says they reached this place on Tuesday, October 5. 157: p. 123.

Time. Rangel (Bourne, II. 116) says that after leaving Casiste they came to the towns of Caxa, Humati, and Uxapila. Caxa was the first town belonging to the district of Tastaluça (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 155). 158: p. 123.

Built. Both Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 16) and 159: p. 124.

Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 120–121) mention the commanding presence of the cacique of Tascaluça. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 186, note 2) says this is a correct Creek word meaning Black Warrior. Rangel calls the village where the cacique was found "Athahachi." The district is laid down by Delisle in his map of 1718.

160: p. 125. *Motive.* This passage is translated by Hakluyt (p. 71) as follows: "How much the greater the will is, so much more giueth it name to the workes and the workes giue testimonie of the truth. Now touching my will, by it you shall know, how certain & manifest it is, and how pure inclination I haue to serue you." B. Smith translates as follows: "The greater the will the more estimable the deed; and acts are the living witness of truth. You shall learn how strong and positive is my will, and how disinterested my inclination to serve you."

161: p. 126. *Piache.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 122) says Soto reached Piachi [*sic*] on Wednesday, and describes this town as a "village high above the gorge of a mountain stream." It was located near Mobile Bay (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 146). Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 188, note 1) thinks that Piache may have been located on the north side of the Black Warrior River. It was learned in this town (Rangel, p. 123) that a Spaniard and a Negro from the Narvaez expedition had been killed.

162: p. 127. *South.* See *ante,* note 128.

163: p. 127. *Mavilla.* For various conjectures as to the location of Mavilla (Mauilla—a name surviving in the present "Mobile,)" see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* pp. 233–234, and note 4, and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers,* p. 189, note 1. For the Indians of this district, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 150–160. See also Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial*

Mobile (Boston, 1910), pp. 22–25, and *Mobile of the five Flags* (Mobile, 1913), pp. 26–27.

October. Rangel (Bourne, II. 123) agrees with the text as to this date. The former adds that it was St. Luke's day. 164: p. 128.

Foot. Rangel (Bourne, II. 123) says that Soto was accompanied by only forty horse. 165: p. 128.

Eighteen. B. Smith, doubtless in a moment of distraction, translates (*Narratives,* p. 89): "of the Christians there were killed there two hundred." 166: p. 137.

Together. See Fernández de Biedma's description of the fight (Bourne, II. 18–21); and that by Rangel (*ibid.,* pp. 123–128). The first says twenty Spaniards were slain and the second, twenty-two. 167: p. 138.

November 18. Rangel (Bourne, II. 128) says Sunday, November 14, which is the correct date. 168: p. 139.

Cabusto. Rangel (Bourne, II. 128–129) says they reached a village called Talicpacana on Thursday, November 28 (correct date, November 18), which was the Taliepatava of the text. To reach Cabusto (Zabusta in Rangel), the Spaniards, according to the latter, crossed a river at a village called Moçulixa. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 194, note 2) conjectures that Cabusto was located above the Sipsey River and west of the Tombigbee, and Moçulixa was located below the Sipsey and east of the Tombigbee. 169: p. 140.

Chicaça. Chicaza in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 22). The name is applied to a province, village, and river. Lowery (*Spanish Settlements,* pp. 235–236), following Gatschet, Irving, Shea, and Pickett, locates this region as lying "about the headwaters of the Yazoo and Mobile Rivers in what is now the State of Mississippi." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 195, note 2) locates the town 170: p. 141.

"about one mile northwest of the present Redland, in Pontotoc County, Mississippi." It was in the territory of the Chickasaws.

171: p. 143. *Saquechuma.* Sacchuma in Rangel (Bourne, II. 132), who applies the name to the local chief of this district. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 196, note) locates the province of Saquechuma on the lower Tallahatchie River and says that the town burned by the Indians was probably located in the present Tallahatchie County.

172: p. 145. *Fuentes.* Of these four men, Reynoso (Reinoso) and Ribera (Pedro de Rybera) seem to have returned from Florida (see B. Smith, *Narratives of the Career,* pp. 297, 298). Francisco Osorio was a kinsman of Antonio Osorio, son of the Marqués de Astorga (so in Solar and Rújula, p. 327, instead of the brother, as given in our text —see *ante* p. 10). Reynoso is perhaps the Francisco de Reinoso noted by Solar and Rújula, p. 327, who was the son of Gonzalo or Gregorio de Reinoso and Isabel de Escobar, of Boadilla. The Fuentes of the text may have been Fernand Sanchez de la Fuente, the son of Garcia Gonzalez de la Vera and Juana Martin, inhabitants of Valencia de la Torre (Solar and Rújula, p. 313).

173: p. 147. *Man.* Hakluyt (p. 84) mistranslates this passage, saying "was held for a tall man."

174: p. 149. *Her.* Francisca Hinestrosa, the only Spanish woman in the expedition. Her husband, Luis de Inostrosa (Ynistrosa), son of Juan Fernández de Inostrosa and Guiomar de Torres, of Seville, returned from Florida (see Solar and Rújula, p. 318 and B. Smith, *Narr.,* p. 292).

175: p. 150. *Jerkins.* See Fernández de Biedma's account of the disaster, in Bourne II. 22–23, and Rangel's, in *ibid.,* pp. 132–134.

Field. Called Chicacilla, which Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 199, note) conjectures was located about three and one-half miles north of Chicaça. 176: p. 150.

1541. Wednesday. Rangel (Bourne, II. 135), says the Indians attacked on Tuesday, March 15, in the morning watch, which is the correct date. 177: p. 151.

April 25. Rangel (Bourne, II. 136) says Tuesday, April 26—the correct date. 178: p. 152.

Alimamu. Alibamo in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 24) and Limamu in Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 136). The Indians of this region were the Alabama or Albamo, an Upper Creek tribe (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 191–201). 179: p. 152.

Waiting. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 200, note) says the fort and ford were on the Tallahatchie River, somewhere near New Albany, in the present Union County, Mississippi. 180: p. 153.

Quizquiz. Hakluyt's translation (p. 89) is at fault here. Quizquiz is called Quizqui by Rangel (Bourne, II. 137). See Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 293. 181: p. 156.

River. This was the Mississippi, which is called Espiritu Santo by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 25). 182: p. 158.

Flaunting. Hakluyt (p. 169) says "shielding themselves"; and B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 104), "covering themselves." 183: p. 161.

Hereafter. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 204, note) places the crossing of the Mississippi either at the present Council Bend or Walnut Bend, in Tunica County, Mississippi, below Memphis. Bourne (II. 138, note 3) places it below Memphis and above the mouth of the Arkansas. See also Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* p. 237, and note 2. The attempt to locate the point of the crossing has been the subject of considerable debate. See 184: p. 163.

special bulletin, No. 1, of the Mississippi Historical Society, edited by Dunbar Rowland, namely, *A Symposium on the Place of Discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando de Soto* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1927). Those who participated in the symposium were Theodore H. Lewis, J. P. Young, Charles A. Barton, and Dunbar Rowland. See T. H. Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Huhasene," pp. 19–20 of *A Symposium* (also in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI. 456–457).

185: p. 165. *Casqui.* Icasqui in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 26); both Quarqui and Carqui in Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 138); and Casquin in Garcilaso de la Vega (fol. 231); Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 213–214) connects the name with the Indians variously called Kaskinampo, Caskinampo, Kaskin8ba, Caskemampo, Cakinonpa, Kakinonba, Karkinonpols, Kasquinanipo, and says that the name was also applied to the Tennessee River. See also Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition," in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI. 457.

186: p. 165. *Crossed.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 206, note) identifies the small river as Fifteen-Mile Bayou, and the locality as probably near the southeast corner of St. Francis County, Arkansas.

187: p. 166. *Acorns.* Probably pecans.

188: p. 166. *Gray.* Identified by B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 223) as *Diospyros Virginiana* and *Diospyros Texana.*

189: p. 166. *Town.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 206, note) conjectures that this town was located near the mouth of the present Tyronza River. Of the town and the stay of the Spaniards there, Rangel says (Bourne, II. 138–139): "It was Saturday when we entered his village, and it had

very good cabins, and, in the principal one, over the door, were many heads of very fierce bulls, just as in Spain, noblemen who are sportsmen mount the heads of wild boars or bears."

Suffered. Of the cross, Rangel (Bourne, II. 139) says: "There the Christians planted the cross on a mound, and they received it and adored it with much devotion, and the blind and lame came to seek to be healed." 190: p. 170.

Flowing. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 208, note) identifies this as the present Tyronza River. 191: p. 171.

Them. The plight of the men is well described in an interpolation made by Oviedo in Rangel's narrative (Bourne, II. 130–131), as follows: "And that you may know, reader, what sort of a life these Spaniards led, Rodrigo Ranjel, an eye-witness, says that among many other great hardships that men endured in this undertaking he saw a knight named Don Antonio Osorio, brother of the Lord Marquis of Astorga, wearing a short garment of the blankets of that country, torn on the sides, his flesh showing, no hat, bare-headed, barefooted, without hose or shoes, a buckler on his back, a sword without a shield, amidst heavy frosts and cold. And the stuff of which he was made and his illustrious lineage made him endure his toil without laments such as many others made, for there was no one who could help him, although he was the man he was, and had in Spain two thousand ducats of income through the Church. And the day that this gentleman saw him he did not believe that he had eaten a mouthful, and he had to dig for it with his nails to get something to eat. 192: p. 173.

"I could hardly help laughing when I heard that this knight had left the Church and the income above men-

tioned to go in search of such a life as this, at the sound of the words of De Soto."

193: p. 173. *Cowhide.* Buffalo hide.

194: p. 174. *June 19.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 139) gives the date of the arrival at Pacaha as Wednesday, June 29; but our text is here correct. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 209, note) gives the probable location of Pacaha as in the vicinity of the present Osceola, Mississippi County, Arkansas, but not any farther toward the north (see also Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition," p. 457).

195: p. 176. *Above.* Inquiry as to the identity of the several kinds of fish mentioned in the text brought the following information from Dr. Lewis Radcliffe, acting commissioner of the Bureau of Fisheries at Washington: "The *bagre* no doubt refers to a species of catfish. Judging by the large size of the fish and its large head, as described, it was most likely the mud catfish, *Leptops olivaris.* However, there is also a possibility that the author had in mind the blue catfish, *Ictalurus furcatus.* Indeed, both species might have been seen in the vicinity, since both are of a large size and quite common in the rivers draining into the Gulf of Mexico. The word *barbo* is used in Spanish and French for several species of freshwater fish. The British name for those species is 'barbel.' The species to which these names are applied are widespread throughout Europe, including Portugal. Judging from the distribution of the species and the similarity of the names in England, France, and Spain, it seems quite likely that the name *barbo* is also applied in Portugal to the same fishes. None of the species of the barbels occur in American waters, but our species of suckers resembles in general appearance the European

barbels, and to a lesser extent the same may be said in regard to our buffalofishes. There are several species of suckers and buffalofishes in American waters; but from the author's statement it is impossible to assert which one of these he had in mind. In a list of the common names of fishes in Portuguese, the name *choupa* is applied to *Sargus rondeletti* and *besugo* to *Pagellus acarne*. Neither of these species, both of which are spiny-rayed fishes, occurs in the waters of the United States. The Portuguese *choupa* is shaped something like our bream and the *besugo* resembles our black bass. Since the author evidently described only the larger fishes, two possibilities suggest themselves: he had in mind either the black bass (and in some of them, especially in large specimens, the body is fairly deep) or the fresh-water drum. Since he states that it was the 'most relished,' he probably had in mind the large-mouth black bass, *Micropterus salmoides*. The *pexe palla* was undoubtedly the spoonbill, *Polyodon spathula*. The description of the snout combined with the lack of scales, as stated by the author, applies to no other American species, and it fairly characterizes the spoonbill. The name *savel* (plural *savēs*) is applied to two species of European shad, *Alosa alosa* and *Alosa finta*. A species of shad, *Alosa alabama*, occurs in the gulf drainage, although it is now quite rare. The author may have seen this or one of two other fishes, namely, the gizzard shad, *Dorosoma cepedianum*, and the menhaden, *Brevoortia patronus*. These two latter species resemble the shad in appearance, although they usually do not grow over a foot in length. There are several other clupeoid fishes in the waters of Florida, which have some resemblance to the shad, although

they are of small size. It is impossible to identify the *pexe pereo* with any exactness. The names *peixe prego* and *peixe porco* are applied to species of sharks in Portugal. Judging from the author's comparison of the fish to a hog, a fish having a deep body is suggested. The following three species, which are found in these waters, are quite common and have rather deep bodies, namely, the fresh-water drum or gaspergou, *Aplodinotus gruniens,* the black drum, *Pogonias chromis,* and the jewfish, *Promicrops itaiara.* The first named is a strictly fresh-water fish. The black drum is typically a salt-water fish, but is also common in brackish water; while the third is a salt-water species."

See also B. Smith, *Narratives,* pp. 223–226. It should be noted that the words "erã de tamanho de Picões" which have been translated "were as long as a pike" refer to "pike" the weapon and not "pike" the fish.

196: p. 182. *Find.* See the accounts of these two chiefs in Hernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 26–29) and Rangel (*ibid.,* pp. 136–146).

197: p. 182. *Caluça.* Caluç in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 30). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 214) says of this district: "This would seem to be the Choctaw or Chickasaw Oka lusa, 'black water,' from which we may possibly infer the Muskhogean connection of Casquin, but, on the other hand, the name may have been obtained from interpreters secured east of the Mississippi, and may be nothing more than a translation of the original into Chickasaw." The word apparently has no connection with the Calusa Indians of the Florida peninsula. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 212, note) tentatively locates the province of Caluça in the northeastern part of the pres-

ent state of Mississippi, extending from Baldwyn, Prentiss County, to the Tennessee River in Tishomingo County.

For the route of the expedition west of the Mississippi, see Theodore H. Lewis, "Route of De Soto's expedition from Taliepacana to Huhasene," in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI. (Oxford, Mississippi, 1902), pp. 449–467.

Plums. Probably persimmons. 198: p. 182.

Cattle. The bison. 199: p. 182.

Quiguate. Rangel (Bourne, II. 146) says that Quiguate was the largest village the Spaniards had seen in that region (in which he agrees with our text) and that it was located on the Casqui River. 200: p. 182.

Mochila. Rangel (Bourne, II. 144) says that Casqui gave one of his daughters to Soto and that Pacaha gave him one of his own wives, besides a sister and another Indian woman of rank. Oviedo (Bourne, II. 145) moralizes as follows: "But I could wish that along with the excellencies of the cross and of the faith that this Governor explained to these chiefs, he had told them he was married, and that the Christians ought not to have more than one wife, or to have intercourse with another, or to commit adultery; that he had not taken the daughter whom Casqui gave him, nor the wife and sister and the other woman of rank whom Pacaha gave him; and that they had not got the idea that the Christians, like the Indians, could have as many wives and concubines as they desired, and like the Indians, live as adulterers." 201: p. 183.

Aquiguate. See *ante,* note 200. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 214, note 1) locates this town on the west side of the St. Francis River, in what is now the northern 202: p. 184.

part of Lee County, or in the southern part of St. Francis County, Arkansas.

203: p. 185. *Swamp.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 214, note 2) conjectures that this may have been Lake Mitchigamia of the French maps, which ceased to exist after the New Madrid earthquake. This lake is shown on the great Delisle map of 1718 on which the route of Soto is marked. The cartographer shows the route to have passed near a vague location which he calls Lac de Mitchigamia.

204: p. 187. *Coligoa.* Coligua in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 31) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p.146).

205: p. 188. *Marshes.* "Lakes" in B. Smith's translation (p. 121) and in Hakluyt (p. 107).

206: p. 188. *Leagues.* Hakluyt (p. 107) says "one hundred leagues."

207: p. 188. *Streamlets.* Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 31) says that on the way to Coligoa, they went at "night to the swamps, where we drank from the hand and found abundance of fish." Rangel says (*ibid.*, p. 146) the Spaniards left Quiguate on Friday, August 26, reaching their destination at the village of Coligoa on the following Thursday, September 1, journeying on the way from swamp to swamp to the number of four swamps. In these swamps or pools they found "no end of fish, because all that country is flooded by the great river when it overflows its banks." Lewis, *Spanish Explorers* (p. 215, note 1) conjectures that the four swamps of Rangel were the L'Anguille River, Big Creek, Bayou de Vue, and Cache River.

208: p. 188. *Town.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 146–147) says that they came twice to the river of Coligoa before they reached the town itself; and he adds: "They found it populated,

and from it they took much people and clothes, and a vast amount of provisions and much salt. It was a pretty village, between some ridges along the gorge of a great river. And from there, at midday, they went to kill some cows, of which there are many wild ones." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 216, note 1) says the town lay in the valley of the Little Red River, and that before reaching it the Spaniards crossed the White River below the mouth of Little Red River, in what is now Woodruff County, Arkansas.

Palisema. According to Rangel (Bourne, II. 147), the Spaniards left Coligoa on Tuesday, September 6, and after recrossing the river and some mountains, reached a town called Calpista on Wednesday, "where there was an excellent salt spring which distilled very good salt in deposits." This spring, says Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 216, note 2) was located on the bank of Little Red River, in what is now Cleburne County. Palisema is called Palisma by Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 147), who says it was reached on Thursday (September 8). 209: p. 190.

Tatalicoya. Called Tutilcoya by Rangel (Bourne, II. 147), who says that on Saturday, September 10, the expedition encamped beside some water. On Sunday, they reached a town called Quixila, "where they rested over Sunday." They reached Tutilcoya on Tuesday. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 32) says they went under direction of their guides to some scattered settlements called Tatil Coya, where they found a river of considerable size which emptied into the Mississippi. 210: p. 190.

Cayas. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 32) says they went upstream to a great province called Cayas. This was evidently a district of scattered settlements as noted 211: p. 191.

in our text. There seems to have been some confusion in Rangel's account (see Bourne, II. 147) with regard to this district; which that author calls Cayase. Rangel says "they were never able to see that place or discover it; and subsequently they were told that they had left it near the river." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 217, note 2) says that Cayas was located in what is now the northern part of Arkansas and Oklahoma. He connects the word with the appellation "Kansas" (see "Route of De Soto's Expedition" in *Pubs. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 458, note 20).

212: p. 191. *Tanico.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 147) says that on Thursday, after having passed the night near a swamp, the Spaniards went to the district and town of Tanico, which was confused with Cayas by some. Tanico, according to Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 217, note 3) was on the east side of the Grand or Neosho River. It was probably a part of the district of Cayas.

213: p. 193. *Pot.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 148): "One ought not to omit and leave in forgetfulness that in Cayase our Spaniards gathered baskets of dry sand from the river and strained water through it, and there came out a brine, and they boiled it down, and let it harden, and in that way made excellent salt, very white and of good flavour."

214: p. 196. *Wounded.* Rangel (Bourne, II. 148) says the expedition left Tanico on Wednesday, October 5, reaching the town of Tula on Friday, October 7. On Saturday, the fight with the Indians occurred, during which one Hernandarias de Saavedra, grandson of the marshall of Seville, was wounded. Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, pp. 32–33) says that in going to Tula, they "passed over some rough hills." He says that the Indians wounded

some seven or eight men and nine or ten horses; while the Spaniards killed some thirty or forty of the Indians. His account is quite similar to that of our text.

Sheep. These cattle were the American bison. 215: p. 198.

Ridges. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 221, note) identifies these ridges as the Boston Mountains. 216: p. 201.

Quipana. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 34) says that after leaving Quipana the route lay eastward across the mountains and down to the plains. This town is called Guipana by Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 149). Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Exped.," p. 459, note 23, connects this word with "Pani" or "Pawnee." 217: p. 201.

The province of Guahate mentioned below has not been identified.

Catamaya. Quitamaya in Rangel (Bourne, II. 149), which was reached on Monday, October 31. 218: p. 202.

Autiamque. Viranque in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 34) and Utiangüe in Rangel (*ibid.,* p. 149). Rangel says that on Tuesday, November 1, they passed through a small village and reached Utiangüe on Wednesday, November 2. The narrative by Rangel ends at this point. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 222, note 2) locates Autiamque within thirty miles of Fort Smith, on the south bank of the Arkansas River. 219: p. 202.

Safety. Hakluyt (p. 115) translates this passage as follows: "They tooke some Indians which were gathering together the stuff which their wives had hidden." 220: p. 202.

Autiamque. The words "of Autiamque" were omitted by B. Smith. 221: p. 203.

Tietiquaquo. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 223, note) says this town was located in the province of Chaguate (see *post,* note 250). 222: p. 203.

223: p. 207. *Ortiz.* The death of Juan Ortiz is merely noted without comment by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 34).

224: p. 208. *Ayays.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 225, note 1) points out that this province must not be confused with that of Aays, which was located south of Red River in Texas. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 34) says that after leaving Autiamque (Viranque), the Spaniards followed the course of the river to a province called Anicoyanque, which probably corresponds to the Nilco or Anilco of our text.

225: p. 208. *River.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 225, note 2) says that the place where they crossed the river lay north of the present Pine Bluff, and was probably in the present Jefferson County.

226: p. 208. *Swamps.* Hakluyt says the region had many lakes.

227: p. 208. *Tutelpinco.* Located by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 225, note 3) on Big Bayou Meto, in the present Jefferson County.

228: p. 209. *Bastian.* Francis Sebastian in Hakluyt (p. 119). The name Francisco Sebastian occurs in the list given by Solar and Rújula, p. 309. He was the son of Alonso Sebastian and Juana Macias, both of the town of Villanueva de Barcarrota.

The town of Tianto mentioned below has not been identified.

229: p. 210. *Swamp.* Translated "lake" by Hakluyt (p. 120) and by B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 136).

230: p. 210. *Nilco.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 226, note) locates Nilco a few miles southeast of the present Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River, in Desha County. There is a large mound there. See *ante,* note 224.

231: p. 211. *Margaridetas.* Translated "margaritas" in Hakluyt

(p. 120). Literally a small pearl; perhaps here a small trade bead made from shell.

Swamp. "Lake" in Hakluyt (p. 121) and in B. Smith (*Narr. of the Career,* p. 137). 232: p. 211.

Guachoya. See *post,* note 235. 233: p. 212.

Quigaltam. See *post,* note 298. 234: p. 213.

Guachoya. Guachoya is located by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 227, note 1) in the neighborhood of the present Arkansas City, on the Mississippi River, in Desha County, and perhaps at or near the large mound north of that city. This place is called "Guachoyanque" by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 34–35), who says the town was "good, well and strongly fenced." 235: p. 213.

April 17. If the date of November 1 of the preceding year fell on Tuesday, as given by Rangel (see *ante,* note 219) is correct, then April 17 fell on Monday. 236: p. 214.

Ri. The Tamaliseu was probably the Arkansas; the Tapatu, the Mississippi; the Mico, perhaps the Coosa; and the Ri (evidently for Rio), the stream near where the expedition first entered Florida. There seems to be some confusion about this passage in B. Smith's translation. 237: p. 214.

Were. Hakluyt (p. 124) adds "every day," but these words are not in the original. 238: p. 217.

Backward. B. Smith (*Narr. of the Career,* p. 141) wrongly makes the reply of the chief a direct discourse; it is only a reported speech. 239: p. 218.

Brazas. The braza is a measure about equivalent to the fathom. 240: p. 219.

Die. Hakluyt (p. 127) translates this passage as follows: "These mens sinnes by Gods permission lighted on their own heads: who, because they would seeme val- 241: p. 223.

iant, became cruel; showing themselves extreme cowards in the sight of all men, when as most neede of Valour was required, and afterward they came to a shameful death."

242: p. 226. *Alvarado.* See *ante,* note 10.

243: p. 227. *Fitting.* Fernández de Biedma's only comment on the death of Soto is the dry remark (Bourne, II. 35): "The governor, at seeing himself surrounded, and nothing coming about according to his expectation, sickened and died. He left us recommending Luis de Moscoso to be our Governor." Cf. with this and the text, the touching remarks of Antonio Pigafetta after Ferdinand Magellan's death, in James A. Robertson, *Magellan's Voyage around the World by Antonio Pigafetta* (Cleveland, 1906), I. 177–179.

244: p. 229. *River.* Garcilaso de la Vega (*La Florida del Inca,* fol. 272) says: Soto was buried in the river by Juan de Añasco, Juan de Guzmán, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, and Diego Arias. They were assisted by a Basque sailor and engineer, named Joannes de Abbadia. The corpse was buried with all secrecy (the men making signs as if they were going fishing) in the middle of the river in water having a depth of nineteen brazas and a width of a quarter of a league.

245: p. 230. *Hogs.* This refers to Soto's property at the place of his death. See Soto's will (which was made in Cuba on May 13, 1539, shortly before the departure for Florida) in Solar and Rújula, pp. 207–221 (reproduced from the original manuscript in AI, 50–2–55/10, Papeles de Justicia, número 750, pieza 1ª., fols. 42–51); and a translation into English made from the original manuscript, in B. Smith, *Narr. of the Career,* pp. 273–280. See also Solar

and Rújula, pp. 223–273 (original in AI, 50–2/55/10, *op. cit.*, fols. 306–333) for the list of possessions left by Soto in Spain and the prices they fetched at auction. Garcilaso de la Vega (*op. cit.*, fol. 271) says that Soto had spent over 100,000 ducats on his expedition.

Obtained. Garcilaso de la Vega (*op. cit.*, fol. 270) notes that Moscoso had been deprived of the post of maestre de campo after the disaster at Chicaça. 246: p. 232.

Leagues. Hakluyt (p. 133) says wrongly "four hundred leagues." 247: p. 233.

June 5. Monday apparently fell on June 5. 248: p. 234.

Catalte. This region has not been identified, but it lay west of Guachoya. It is called "Catayet" on the map (see p. 418). 249: p. 234.

Chaguete. Called Chavite (meaning "salt"—see Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Exped.," p. 461) by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 35–36), who says that they traveled for seventeen days from Guachoyante (Guachoya) to Chavite. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 236, note) conjectures that this district may have been located on the present Saline River in Saline County. The same author notes that the expedition turned south southeast at this point. Fernández de Biedma says they turned "southwest-and-by south." 250: p. 234.

Reward. B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 152) omits everything in this discourse after this point. 251: p. 236.

Lake. Probably more of a marsh than a lake. 252: p. 237.

Guzmán. Apparently this was Francisco de Guzmán, son of Benito Rodríguez and Francisca Hernández, inhabitants of Seville. See Solar and Rújula, *op. cit.*, p. 289. 253: p. 237.

July 4. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 36) says it took the men three days to reach Aguacay, and that it 254: p. 238.

lay due west from Chaguete. The same author adds: "After leaving this place, the Indians told us we should see no more settlements unless we went down in a southwest-and-by-south direction, where we should find large towns and food; that in the course we asked about, there were some large sandy wastes, without any people or subsistence whatsoever." July 4 fell on Tuesday.

255: p. 238. *There.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 238, note 2) locates this place a short distance from the present town of Arkadelphia on the west bank of the Quachita River.

256: p. 239. *July 20.* July 20 fell on Thursday.

257: p. 239. *Naguatex.* Hakluyt (pp. 136–137) says "They pitched their Campe at noone betweene *Amaye* and *Naguatex* along the corner of a grove of very faire trees." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 239, note) conjectures that this was on Prairie de Roane near the present town of Hope.

258: p. 239. *Were.* Hakluyt (p. 137) says wrongly "and what order they kept."

259: p. 241. *River.* Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 210, note) as the present Little River in Hampstead County.

260: p. 245. *River.* Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 241, note) as the present Red River.

261: p. 246. *People.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 242, note) identifies this ford as the present White Oak Shoals in Arkansas, three miles east of the Texas-Arkansas boundary.

262: p. 247. *Six.* B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 159) says wrongly "five."

263: p. 247. *Nissohone.* "Nisione" in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 36).

264: p. 247. *Lacane.* Probably the "Came" of Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 36).

265: p. 247. *Nondacao.* Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 36) uses the same form. This author says that the cacique of

Nondacao furnished them a guide who purposely tried to lead them over rough country and off the road. The guide confessed that he did not know where he was guiding the Spaniards, but that he had been ordered to lead them into a region where they would die of hunger.

Soacatino. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 36) says: "We were obliged to go where the Indian directed us, and went to a Province called Nisione, and to another called Nondacao, and another Came; and at each remove we went through lands that became more sterile and afforded less subsistence. We continually asked for a province which they told us was larger, called Xuacatino." 266: p. 248.

Aays. Properly Ayays. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 36–37) says: "We took another guide, who led us to a Province called Hais, where, in seasons, some cattle are wont to herd; and as the Indians saw us entering their country, they began to cry out: 'Kill the cows—they are coming'; when they sallied and shot their arrows at us, doing us some injury." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 243, note) conjectures that this district is south of the present Gainesville, Texas, and that the town adjoined the "Lower Cross Timbers," on the prairie. 267: p. 248.

Fight. See preceding note. 268: p. 249.

Nondacao. Here, as elsewhere, the chief and his town are called by the same name. Hakluyt (p. 142) says "in Nondacao." It appears as "nõdacan" on the map (p. 418). 269: p. 249.

Christians. Perhaps an echo of the Coronado expedition. 270: p. 249.

Soacatino. See *ante,* note 266. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 37) describes this district (which he also 271: p. 250.

calls "Xacatin") as lying amid close forests and having little food. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 244, note 1) conjectures that this region was located in the present "Upper Cross Timbers." It appears on the map (p. 418) as Cehocatin.

272: p. 250. *Southward.* Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 37) says: "Hence the Indians guided us eastward to other small towns, poorly off for food, having said that they would take us where there were other Christians like us, which afterwards proved false." After this, he says they turned south and "travelled about six days in a direction south and southwest, when we stopped."

273: p. 251. *Guasco.* Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 244, note 2) as Waco, Texas. If one gives the "w" sound to the Spanish "Gu," which is so often heard, and drops the "s" of "Guasco," the name "Waco" results. Lewis conjectures that this town was evidently located on the Brazos River, near old Fort Belknap.

274: p. 251. *Naçacahoz.* This and the town of Naquiscoça mentioned above are conjectured by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 144, note 3) to lie in the Brazos valley, southeast of Guasco.

275: p. 251. *Naçacahoz.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 245, note 1) conjectures that this was the Double Mountain fork of the Brazos; and adds that the crossing was probably made at the south angle of the river, in the northwestern part of the present Fisher County.

276: p. 252. *Daycao.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 245, note 2) conjectures that the "unpeopled region" or "wilderness," as it is translated by B. Smith, was a forest. He points out that the continuous forest from old Fort Belknap to the eastern slope of the "Staked Plains" was the only

one through which the men could have gone for ten days to the westward.

Alqueire. A dry or solid measure of 138 deciliters. The liquid alqueire is equivalent to 84 deciliters. 277: p. 253.

Arabs. The word "Alarve" (Arab) has the derived meaning of "boor" or "glutton." 278: p. 254.

Come. Of the determination to return to the Mississippi River, Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 38) says: "Reflecting that we had lost our interpreter, that we found nothing to eat, that the maize we brought upon our backs was failing, and it seemed impossible that so many people should be able to cross a country so poor, we determined to return to the town where the Governor Soto died, as it appeared to us there was convenience for building vessels with which we might leave the country." 279: p. 254.

Montemor. Estremóz is a town of Alemtejo, Portugal, twenty-three miles northeast of Evora. It is famous for its earthenware jugs and has a large trade in wool, and has many marble quarries rivaling those of Italy. Montemor is perhaps the Montemor Novo in Alemtejo, twenty-two miles north northwest of Evora. See Lemos, *Encyclopedia Portugueza Illustrada.* 280: p. 257.

Christian. See *ante,* p. 237, and note 253. 281: p. 257.

Aays. See *ante,* note 267. 282: p. 258.

Chilano. This town has not been identified. 283: p. 258.

There. Probably ropes were made of this fiber. 284: p. 259.

Aminoya. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 249, note 1) locates Aminoya above the mouth of the Arkansas River in the present Desha County. Hakluyt in translating, uniformly uses the form "Minoya." 285: p. 260.

Lethargy. Perhaps malaria or dysentery. 286: p. 261.

287: p. 262. *Sotis.* Hakluyt (p. 150) translates this passage "by their surname called Sotis."

288: p. 262. *Fanegas.* The fanega is a dry measure of quantity equivalent to four alqueires (see *ante,* note 277), used for measuring grains and seeds.

289: p. 264. *Daffodils. Abrotea,* literally "daffodil." Both Hakluyt (p. 151) and B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 169) translate "hemp," which is more expressive.

290: p. 264. *Tagoanate.* See *post,* note 293.

291: p. 264. *Water.* Hakluyt (p. 151) translates this passage "because their places of refuge are in the water"; and B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 170), "as their places of concealment were by the water's edge." The primary meaning of *colheita* is "harvest" or "fruits." It seems here to refer directly to the harvests which had perhaps been placed in *barbacoas* on islets.

292: p. 265. *Them.* Hakluyt (p. 152) translates "for to goe to take them, they were neuer able."

293: p. 269. *Taguanete.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 253, note) says this province lay on the White River, and that the town so named was probably located in the southern part of the present Monroe County in Arkansas, possibly at Indian Bay.

294: p. 269. *Brigantines.* Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 38) says: "We returned by the same road we had taken, until we came to the town; but we did not discover so good outfit as we had thought to find. There were no provisions in the town, the Indians having taken them away, so we had to seek another town, where we might pass the winter and build the vessels. I thank God that we found two towns very much to our purpose, standing upon the Rio Grande, and which were fenced around,

having also a large quantity of maize. Here we stopped, and with great labour built seven brigantines, which were finished at about the end of six months. We threw them into the water, and it was a mystery that, calked as they were with the bark of mulberry-trees, and without any pitch, we should find them stanch and very safe."

Canoes. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 38–39) intimates that the canoes with the horses were taken along in case a large town were found on the seacoast where the expedition might be supported while two of the brigantines were sent to New Spain "with a message to provide us with vessels in which we could get away from the country." 295: p. 271.

Twenty-two. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 39), says twenty-six horses were taken. 296: p. 271.

Right. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 255, note 1) says this arm of the river was a channel by which the Bayou Macon is connected with the Mississippi and that it is located in the northern part of the present Chicot County, Arkansas. 297: p. 274.

Quigualtam. Also spelt Quigaltam (see *ante,* note 234); "Quigualtanqui" in Garcilaso de la Vega, fol. 192. It lay on the opposite side of the Mississippi from Guachoya. 298: p. 274.

Bluff. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 255, note) conjectures that this bluff was the present Vicksburg Bluffs. 299: p. 276.

Twenty-five. Hakluyt (p. 159) says wrongly "fifteen." 300: p. 277.

Determine. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 39) says of the assaults by the Indians: "The second day, descending the stream, there came out against us forty or fifty very large and swift canoes, in some of which 301: p. 279.

were as many as eighty warriors, who assailed us with their arrows, following and shooting at us. Some who were in the vessels thought it trifling not to attack them; so, taking four or five of the small canoes we brought along, they went after them. The Indians, seeing this, surrounded them, so that they could not get away, and upset the canoes, whereby twelve very worthy men were drowned, beyond the reach of our succour, because of the great power of the stream, and the oars in the vessel being few."

302: p. 282. *Rest.* Hakluyt (p. 161) says "lingered behind."

303: p. 283. *Sea.* Hakluyt (p. 162) says "until they came to the sea."

304: p. 283. *Seventeen.* Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 39) says they reached the sea in nineteen days. He says (pp. 39–40) that encouraged by their first success, the Indians kept up their attacks "doing us much damage and wounding many people; for, as they found we had no arms that could reach them from a distance, not an arquebuse nor a crossbow having remained, but only some swords and targets, they lost their fears, and would draw very nigh to let drive at us with their arrows."

305: p. 284. *So.* Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 259, note) points out that Garcilaso de la Vega increases this distance to 750 leagues, but that the real distance was about 720 miles.

306: p. 286. *Sea.* Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 40) says "We came out by the mouth of the river, and entering into a very large bay made by it, which was so extensive that we passed along it three days and three nights, with fair weather, in all the time not seeing land, so that it appeared to us that we were at sea, although we found

the water still so fresh that it could well be drunk like that of the river."

Las Palmas. Later called the Santander River and the River Soto la Marina, its present name. It enters the gulf 110 miles above Tampico. A large bar is formed at the mouth from the silt carried down by the current. 307: p. 287.

Them. This sentence is omitted by Hakluyt (p. 165). 308: p. 289.

Sea. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers,* p. 261, note) says that "At that time the Atchafalaya probably formed the lower course of Red River, the latter not having cut through to the Mississippi, and it was its current that they encountered." 309: p. 290.

Keys. Hakluyt (p. 166) mistranslates "creeks." 310: p. 290.

Key. Ibid. (p. 167). 311: p. 291.

Fortune. Hakluyt (p. 168), says "while they were in this tempest." 312: p. 293.

Copee. Cope, in Spanish. A name applied to various species of the genus *Clusia.* Two species, especially are known in Hispanic America, namely, *Clusia Rosea* or Cope grande; and *Clusia minor* or Cope chico. They are both found in Venezuela where they are called "cupay." Both kinds are used for their resinous qualities and are used, among other ways, in the calking of water craft. The text may refer, however, to some bituminous substance. This name apparently appears on the map (p. 418). 313: p. 294.

Islet. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II. 40) says they went westward to some small islets. 314: p. 294.

Better. Cf. the procession made by the survivors of Magellan's ship, the *Victoria,* after landing in Spain in Robertson, *Magellan's Journey around the World by Antonio Pigafetta,* II. 189. 315: p. 295.

316: p. 296. *Palmas.* See *ante,* note 307.

317: p. 297. *Panico.* The River of Pánuco. This river, about 400 miles long, rises in the Valley of Mexico and enters the Gulf of Mexico six miles below the city of Tampico, now the great oil port of Mexico. The drainage of the Valley of Mexico, a stupendous accomplishment, takes place through a canal and tunnel emptying into one of the branches of the Pánuco River. This stream, notwithstanding the formidable bar at its mouth, is navigable for deep draft vessels to Tampico and to vessels of light draft to the city of Pánuco.

318: p. 302. *Panico.* The town of Pánuco. This town was founded in 1520 at the orders of Cortés by Gonzalo de Sandoval, who called it San Sebastián del Puerto. Its Aztec name "Pánuco" means "place settled by persons who came by sea." It is located on the Pánuco River, about eighty miles from the Gulf of Mexico by water, but only about forty by land. Pánuco was the capital city of a former administrational unit of New Spain, also called Pánuco, which was bounded on the north by the Nuevo Reino de León and part of the audiencia of Guadalajara, on the east by the gulf, on the south by the provinces of Tlaxcala and Mexico, and on the west by the Reino de Michoacán. During the eighteenth century, it formed part of Nuevo Santander. In that century it had about 500 families and near the close of the nineteenth, about 9,000 inhabitants. The district was first visited by men of the expeditions of Garay. See Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario Geográfico Histórico de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1788), IV. 55; and Espasa, *Enciclopedia universal* XLI. 900.

319: p. 302. *Mendoza.* Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy of

New Spain, was born in 1490, in the fortress of Alcala la Real along the Granada border. His father, Iñigo López de Mendoza, second conde de Tendilla, was captain general of the forces that were investing Granada. The family is said to trace back to the celebrated Spanish hero, the Cid, and thence to some of the best Roman and Gothic families. He was appointed viceroy of New Spain in April, 1535, and reached Mexico in October of the same year. In 1547, he was transferred to the viceroyalty of Peru, with his seat at Lima. He died in that city on June 21, 1552, and was buried beside Francisco Pizarro, the great conqueror of Peru. In an age of narrow bigotry, he was characterized by an unusual breadth of mind (for that period), and was above all an excellent organizer and administrator. See Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza* (Durham, 1927); and Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante, *Don Antonio de Mendoza* (Santiago, 1928).

Men. Hakluyt (p. 173) says "three hundred and eleven men," thus giving the correct number as noted above. See also B. Smith (*Narratives,* pp. 292–299), "A Memoir of the names of persons who came from Florida, who they are, and of what countries natives." This shows a list of slightly over two hundred names. In the same volume, Smith publishes also two documents relative to the followers of Soto, as follows: 1. Letter to the king from the viceroy of New Spain, with testimony in behalf of García Osorio, soliciting the royal favor, 1560, pp. 299–300. 2. Memorial of Alonso Vazquez to the king of Spain, petitioning for certain privileges, and permission to reside in Florida, together with the testimony of persons as to his services in the army of Her- 320: p. 302.

nando de Soto, during the invasion of that province, pp. 301–312.

321: p. 304. *Mestitam Mexico.* Mestitam is undoubtedly a corruption of the word "Tenochtitlan," the Aztec name for the City of Mexico. The form of "Mestitan" occurs in Genaro García's edition of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Conquista de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1904), I. 460 and II. 362. There are many corrupted forms of the name. For the history of pre-Spanish and early Spanish Mexico, see Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico,* Charles Cullen's translation into English of Francisco Saverio Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico,* editions of which were issued in London, 1787, Richmond, 1806, and Philadelphia, 1817.

322: p. 304. *Vera Cruz.* Hakluyt (p. 174) says "and other 60 from Panuco to the Port of Vera Cruz," omitting the three words "and from Mexico." The city of Vera Cruz, the chief seaport of Mexico, is located on the southwest shore of the Gulf of Mexico, one hundred and ninety miles from Mexico. Being on low, sandy, and marshy ground, it was a menace to health until recently, but is now sanitary and a modern city. Many of its buildings and its wall are of coral rock. It has a population of over 50,000; and is chiefly a commercial city, although it has some manufacturing industries. It was first visited by Europeans by Juan de Grijalva and next by Cortés (April 21, 1519), who landed at the point called by the natives Chalchiuhuecan on April 22. Because this was Good Friday and because of the wealth of the district, Cortés named it "La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz." It was the point of departure for the conquest of Mexico. In modern times it has also been a place of entry for hostile troops on more than one occasion.

East. Hakluyt (p. 174) says "Panuco to the North." 323: p. 304.

Food. "Inda q̃ onestamente tiueram de comer." Translated by B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 198): "particularly in respect of everything to eat." 324: p. 305.

Tapile. The proper form of the word is "topil" or "topile." It has the meaning of the Spanish word "alguazil," meaning "constable." It was early taken over into Spanish use. Ricardo del Castillo, *Los llamados Mexicanismos de la Academia Española* (Mexico, 1917), says (pp. 162–163) that the word is seldom used now in any state of Mexico. Eufemio Mendoza, *Apuntes para un Catálogo Razonado de las Palabras Mexicanas* (Mexico, 1872), p. 51, says it is used now only in a burlesque style. The word occurs in most of the Aztec dictionaries; *e.g.,* Rémi Siméon, *Dictionnaire de Langue Nahuatl ou Mexique* (Paris, 1885), p. 651. 325: p. 306.

Meadows. Hakluyt (p. 177) says: "it hath thinne woods, and very goodly meadows upon the Riuers." 326: p. 309.

Swamps. Translated "lakes" by B. Smith (*Narratives,* p. 201). 327: p. 309.

Northeast. Hakluyt (p. 178) says wrongly "northwest." 328: p. 310.

Daycao. See *ante,* pp. 252–253, and note 276. 329: p. 310.

Others. Hakluyt (p. 178) says "from those that grow more eastward." 330: p. 311.

Acorns. Pecans. See *ante,* note 187. 331: p. 311.

Ligoacam. William B. Rye, in his edition of Hakluyt's translation of the *Relaçam, The Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida* (London, 1851) conjectures that this may refer to the *Lignum Guaiacum* (see p. 169, note 1). From the description of the fruit, it is probable that this was the alligator pear or avocado (Spanish, "aguacate"). 332: p. 311.

Walnuts. See *ante,* note 198. 333: p. 312.

334: p. 312. *Black birds.* Rye (*ut supra,* p. 169, note 5) conjectures that this black bird may be the winter cow-bird, *Molothrus pecoris.*

335: p. 313. *Coast.* Not necessarily true, but it happens that the Calusa Indians who dwelt about the southern part of the Florida Peninsula and among the keys were the fiercest Indians of that region. See Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indian* (Washington, 1907); and Samuel Cole Williams (ed.), *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930).

336: p. 314. *Infante.* A reference undoubtedly to Enrique (1512–1580), son of King Manoel, the Fortunate, a cardinal and archbishop of Braga, Lisbon, and Evora, and inquisitor general. He was proclaimed king of Portugal in 1578; in 1580 Portugal passed to Spain after the defeat of Don Antonio, the pretender, and did not regain its independence until 1640.

The Elvas Narrative.

THE author of the *Relaçam Verdadeira,* which is reproduced in the present work, both in its original language and in a new English translation, is unknown. Careful research in the great Portuguese archives of Torre do Tombo, and in other manuscript collections may, however, sometime reveal his name. The context shows the author to have been one of the Portuguese who accompanied Soto on his expedition, probably one of the eight men named in the second chapter of the narrative. Conjecture has suggested Alvaro Fernandez, but be that as it may, the account was written by a member of the expedition. There is no way of telling just how much the narrative was edited by André de Burgos, its publisher, or by any other person. However, it apparently remains much in the same condition as when it left the unknown "fidalgo's" hands, for Burgos asserts in his foreword that he "did not write it but only published it"; and it checks up very closely with the narrative by Rodrigo Rangel, Soto's secretary. It is considered to be the result of actual notes taken during the course of the expedition by the "fidalgo" of Elvas, who may have rewritten his rough "field notes" or touched them up somewhat before publication. The narrative may, indeed, have come into the hands of the publisher after the death of the author, but this is not known. The account was published in 1557, only twenty-four years after the break-up of the Soto expedition, and is the first printed account of that notable series of wanderings. It compares favorably with other reports of a similar nature, such as Antonio Pigafetta's relation of

Magellan's remarkable voyage,* and the account of the conquest of Mexico by Bernal Díaz del Castillo†—probably much more authentic than this latter even, for Díaz del Castillo wrote only from memory long after the events he described.

The book seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity and to have been rather widely read, for at the present time but three copies are known, namely, that of the Bibliotheca de Ajuda, in Portugal, that of the British Museum, and that of the Lenox Collection of the New York Public Library. An unknown condensed version of the expedition (whether of the Elvas narrative or of one of the other narratives) exists or did exist recently in the library of a Captain Grant in England.‡

A photographic facsimile reproduction (in an edition of ten copies only) made from the copy of the original in the British Museum was issued in 1924 by the Massachusetts Historical Society as No. 117 in its "Americana Series." A reprint of the copy in the Bibliotheca de Ajuda was published in Lisbon in 1844, under the title *Relação do Descobrimento de Florida,* in Tomo I of "Collecção de Opusculos reimpressos relativos á Historia das Navegações, viagens, e Conquistas dos

*See James A. Robertson, *The first Voyage around the World by Antonio Pigafetta.* 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1906).

†See Genaro García's edition of Bernal del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España.* 2 vols. (Mexico, 1904); and its translation into English by Maudsley.

‡Information derived from a circular published by G. Allen, 11 Windsor Terrace, Clifton, Bristol, announcing the publication of a volume entitled *Bibliographical Essays on the early printed Books of Voyages and Travel in the Library of Captain Grant.* Publication was announced for January, 1931, but this book has not been seen.

Portugueses," by the Accademia Real das Sciencias, with a prologue by Joaquim José da Costa de Macedo. The language of this edition has been modernized. The photographic collotype reproduction, which forms the first volume of the present work is the first reproduction of its nature to be made.

It remained for that keen observer and appraiser of books, and early writings, Richard Hakluyt, to see the importance of this work. He published it, accordingly, as an incentive to English discovery, in an English dress, under the title *Virginia richly valued. By the Description of the maine Land of Florida, her next neighbour: Out of the foure Yeeres continnuall Travell and Discouerie, for above one thousand Miles east and west, of Don Ferdinando de Soto, and sixe hundred able Men in his Companie.* (Written by a Portugall Gentleman of Eluas, emploied in all the action, and translated out of Portuguese by Richard Haklvyt. At London, Printed by Felix Kyngston for Matthew Lownes, and are to be solde at the signe of the Bishops head in Pauls Church-yard. 1609.) In his "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the Counsellor and adventurers for the settlement of Virginia, he shows why he regarded it as important. "This work," he says, ". . . though small in shew, yet great in substance, doth yeeld much light to our enterprise now on foot: whether you desire to know the present and future commodities of our countrie; or the qualities and conditions of the Inhabitants, or what course is best to be taken with them." In some respects, this translation, at times more an adaptation, is better than the later translations, notwithstanding that it is couched in the obsolete English of the period.

This translation was reissued in 1611 under the more appropriate title *The worthye and famovs history, of the Travailes, Discouerie & Conquest, of that great Continent of Terra Florida, being liuely paraleld, with that of our now inhabited Virginia. As also the Commodities of the said Country . . . Accomplished and effected by that worthy Generall and Captain, Don Ferdinando de Soto, and six hundreth Spaniards his followers.* (London, Printed for Mathew Lownes, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the Bishops head, 1611.)

The 1609 edition was included in Vol. V. (pp. 477–550) of the Evans edition of Hakluyt (London, 1809–1812), with substantially the same title, and again in Goldsmid's edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Edinburgh, 1884–1890), in Vols. XIII. (1890), pp. 537–616, and XIV. (1890), pp. 5–58.

Another reprint of the 1609 edition is found in Peter Force's *Tracts and other Papers relating principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776, Vol.* IV. (Washington, 1846), pp. 1–132, with imitation in type of the original title page;* and again by B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana,* under the title "A Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto into Florida by a Gentleman of Elvas. Published at Evora 1557. Translated from the Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt, London, 1609." (Philadelphia, 1850), pp. 111–220. French takes liberties with Hakluyt's text in the matter of punctuation and orthography; he omits the chapter headings and Hakluyt's transla-

*An extract from Force's edition (pp. 90–104) entitled "The

tion or adaptation of the colophon of 1557; and makes other changes.

The 1611 edition was reissued by the Hakluyt Society (London, 1851) as No. 9 of its first series, under the title *Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida, by Don Ferdinand de Soto, and sixe hundred Spaniards his Followers. Written by a Gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the Action, and translated out of Portuguese, by Richard Hakluyt.* (Edited with Notes and an Introduction, and a Translation of a Narrative of the Expedition by Luis Hernandez de Biedma, Factor to the same, by William B. Rye, of the British Museum.) The full title of the edition of 1611 is also given, rendered in the typographical style of the original.

A Dutch translation and adaptation, somewhat abridged, which seems to have been made from either the 1609 or 1611 edition of Hakluyt,* appeared as Deel 14, No. 3, of the collection published by Pieter van der Aa, in Leyden, 1707, entitled "Naaukeurige Versameling." This version, which has its own title page, is entitled *De Gedenkwaardige Voyagie van Don Ferdinand de Soto, na Florida, en desselfs Ontdekking van de Landen en dat Gewest, met al wat aanmerkenswaardig op die vier jarige Reyse is voorgevallen. Gedaan Anno* 1539 *en verfolgens. Naauwkeurig beschreven, door een Portugijs, die selfs dit allerheeft by gewoond.* (Met schoonekopers Platen, en volkomen Registers vercierd. Nu aldereerst uyt het Spaans vertaald. Te Leyden, By Pieter Vander Aa, Boekverkoper 1706.) This section of the volume has

Death of De Soto," was published (with bibliographical data) as No. 36 of "Old South Leaflets."

*See Rye, p. vi, who perhaps suggests that this Dutch translation was made from the 1685 translation into French.

a folding map of Florida. Some copies of the translation are found bound separately, which suggests that the collection was first issued in parts and then collected and bound together. This Dutch version was also issued with the same date (1706) and in folio form in Vol. VII., No. 8, of Van der Aa's collection issued (probably in parts before being collected) in Leyden in 1706–1727 under the series title "De aanmerkenswaardigste en alomberoemde zee- en land-reizen der Portugeezen, Spanjaarden, Engelsen, en allerhande natiën," under the same title as above.

A brief résumé of the Hakluyt translation of 1611 was published in the fourth volume of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), pp. 1532–1556, under the title "Ferdinando de Soto his Voyage to Florida and Discouerie of the Regions in that Continent: with the Trauels of the Spaniards foure Yeeres together therein, and the Accidents which befell them: written by a Portugall of the Company, and here contracted." The abstract is preceded by a brief note on Soto. This abstract is reproduced in the reprint of Purchas (Glasgow, 1905–1907), Vols. XVII. (1906), pp. 521–550, and XVIII. pp. 1–51.

A new translation into English from the original Portuguese was made by Buckingham Smith, and published (pp. 1–203) in his *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866), under the title "True Relation of the Vicissitudes that attended the Governor Don Hernando de Soto and some Nobles of Portugal in the Discovery of the Province of Florida, now just given by a Fidalgo of Elvas." Annotations appear on pp. 211–227; and bibliographical data on pp. xxvii–

xxviii. Of this work (Vol. V. of the Bradford Club Series) only 125 copies were published. Smith's translation was the one reproduced in all later editions of the narrative of the gentleman of Elvas until the present. It was reissued by Edward Gaylord Bourne with its discourse on the life of Soto and new annotations and preface, in the "Trail Makers" series published by A. S. Barnes & Co., in Vol. I. of a two-volume work entitled *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1904). This work was reissued in 1905 in London in the "Great American Explorers" series published by David Nutt; and in 1922, in New York, the "American Explorers" series, published by the Allerton Book Co.

A French translation of the original Portuguese appeared in Paris in 1685 under the following title: *Histoire de la Conqueste de la Floride, par les Espagnols, sous Ferdinand de Soto. Ecrite en Portugais par un Gentilhomme de la Ville d'Elvas.* This translation, which is indifferent, was made by "M.D.C." (Bon André, Conde de Broé, Seigneur de Citri de la Guette) and the edition is fairly rare. Of the original Portuguese edition and its author, the translator says:

> . . . With regard to its rarity, there was but one manuscript of it in Spain. This was taken from the library of the Duke of Sessa to be printed; and there are very few copies of the book in France. That from which the present translation was made came from a library filled with books brought together with the greatest care. This relation has the advantage of being original and of coming from firsthand—quite different from that one on Florida by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. The latter author can not enter the lists with this work, for his work appeared only after its publication and was the result of the recital of a simple trooper who had been in Ferdinand de Soto's train in Florida, who for lack of knowledge, might have been mistaken

in many things, and the same is true of Garcilaso [who might have been mistaken] for lack of memory and application.

Thus, at the beginning of his *Florida,* Garcilaso asserts that Soto went thither accompanied by thirteen hundred men, whereas our author says, with much more appearance of truth, that he had only six hundred men. In this connection, it should be noted that a gentleman, such as was the latter, has more information and more regard for the truth than a simple soldier has. The title of the relation informs us that our author was a Portuguese gentleman of the city of Elvas, and that he was with Soto throughout the duration of the expedition. Surely he was one of those named in the second chapter, but he can not be distinguished from the others, because he was unwilling to designate himself. That instance of a modesty, which is found only among the most honorable people, is an excellent proof of his sincerity. It is very probable that his birth caused him to take part in the most important deliberations; and the details he furnishes confirm us in this opinion. There can be no doubt but that this information was very good. Those who take the trouble to examine his work will be convinced of this because of his manner of writing. His style is natural, simple, and without any adornments—such as a discourse ought to be which has truth only as its aim. He in no wise wanders from his subject to make useless digressions such as Garcilaso de la Vega has made—who seems to have had as his sole object the recounting of the exploits of Gonçales Sylvestre, who is apparently his hero, and of whom, nevertheless, our author says not a single word. Finally, our author bothers not at all about descriptions beyond what is needed as a basis for what one ought to know. This is why he relegated to the end of his work everything touching the nature of the country and of its inhabitants.

With regard to the discovery, he traces it with so much precision and clarity, that nothing more finished can be desired; and the same is true of the way in which he makes us see the two generals, Soto and Moscoso, where, without amusing himself by drawing their portraits as does a writer of romance, he paints them with those master strokes that cause us to recognize the quality of their persons and inclinations. He exposes so well the reasons that impelled Soto to continue that expedition against the opinion of his followers and those which in-

duced Moscoso to abandon the undertaking, in spite of the opposition he met, that one can easily see that the author had no less intelligence and discernment than good faith. So this history can be considered not merely as a curious story, but as a work from which one may derive considerable information for his guidance in similar expeditions, as well as for the knowledge it shows of the countries bordering on Florida, which the French have but shortly discovered at the orders of the king.

This French translation was reissued with a new imprint, namely, "Paris, E. Couterot, 1699" (see Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana,* VI. 488). The French translation was in turn translated into English under the title *A Relation of the Invasion and Conquest of Florida by the Spaniards, under the Command of Fernando de Soto.* (Written in Portuguese by a Gentleman of the Town of Elvas. Now Englished . . . London; printed for John Lawrence, at the Angel in the Poultry, over against the Comter, 1686.) With this were included, each with its own title, the narratives of two journeys of the "present Emperour of China into Tartary in the Years 1682 and 1683," and "Some Discoveries made by the Spaniards in the Island of California in the Year 1683." The translation, which is indifferent, was reissued in 1687 with the same materials, but (probably for sale purposes) with a new general title, as follows: *Two Journeys of the present Emperour of China into Tartary, in the Years* 1682, *and* 1683, *with some Discoveries made by the Spaniards in the Island of California in the Year* 1683. The narrative of the expedition to Florida is published first, as in the first edition.

Other Narratives.

THREE other early accounts of the Soto expedition exist, which should always be considered in connection

with the Elvas narrative. These are the accounts by Luis Fernández de Biedma, the factor of the expedition, that by Rodrigo Rangel, Soto's secretary, and that by the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega. The first two are the more important of the three, for they were written by actual participants in the expedition. The third was completed in 1591 and first published in 1605, over sixty years after the conclusion of the expedition. Garcilaso, undoubtedly with the utmost truth, states that the substance of it was related to him by one of the survivors of the expedition (surmised to have been Gonzalo Silvestre because of the manner in which the exploits of that person are told, and who is really known to have been one of Soto's men)* with some details added by two other participants in the expedition, namely, Juan Coles and Alonso de Carmona. The narrative, however, seems to have been reworked in the crucible of Garcilaso's own rich imagination and fact and fancy at times seem irrevocably blended. The narrative must be used with caution, but it can not be altogether disregarded. The account of the expedition as given by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (Madrid, 1601–1615), taken almost bodily from Garcilaso, may be disregarded as it adds nothing to the facts of the expedition.

Fernández de Biedma's account opens with the arrival in Florida and closes with the entrance into the Pánuco River. It bears more or less the stamp of an official report on the expedition, and did, in fact, find its way into the Spanish archives or offices as early as

*A manuscript in the archives of the Indies relates to the services of this man.

1544. The manuscript was formerly conserved in the archives in Simancas, but was later transferred to the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. A copy of it was made (probably in the Simancas archives) by Juan Bautista Muñoz, which is now in Vol. 81 of the Papers of the Muñoz Collection in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Copies made from the Muñoz copy are conserved in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, in a volume entitled "Florida and Louisiana," pp. 77–121; and in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library, in the Rich Collection, entitled "Relacion Verdadera" (two copies). Printed versions are found in various publications. It was first published in its original Spanish by Buckingham Smith in his *Colección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras adyacentes* (London, 1857), pp. 47–64, from the Muñoz transcript. The Spanish was later published in *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonización de las antiguas Posesiones Españoles en América y Océania,* III. (1865), 414–441, as "Relación de la Isla de la Florida," also from the Muñoz transcript, where the title appears as "Relacion del Suceso de la Jornada del cap. Soto, y de la calidad de la tierra por donde anduvo." It is signed simply "Luis Hernandez de Biedma." In a note to the Muñoz transcript is added in Muñoz's hand: "This Biedma presented the foregoing relation in the Council of the Indies, as the king told the said council in a consulta of 1544."

The very first publication of this narrative, however, seems to have been that in French translation by Henri Ternaux-Compans, in 1841 (somewhat abridged and

adapted) in his *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique, publiés pour la première Fois en Français* (Paris), XX. 51–106. The first translation into English (made from the Ternaux-Compans version) appeared in the appendix of William B. Rye's *Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida* (London, 1851), pp. 171–200, under the title "A Relation of what took place during the Expedition of Captain Soto; with particulars concerning the nature of the Country through which he passed. By Luis Hernandez de Biedma." The second English translation (made directly from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith) was published in his *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866), pp. 229–261, under the title "Relation of the Conquest of Florida presented by Luys Hernandez de Biedma in the Year 1544 to the King of Spain in Council" (also translated from the Muñoz version). Edward Gaylord Bourne reprinted this translation in his *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1904), II. 3–40, and it appeared in the reissues of that work in London, 1905, and New York, 1922. Fernández de Biedma's account is short and often lacking in details, but he corroborates many passages of the Elvas and Rangel accounts. It is deserving in no way of the contemptuous tone in which some have spoken of it; for it bears the stamp of authenticity.

The original of the account by Rodrigo Rangel* has

*Soto's will reveals the fact that Rangel was his secretary, a clause of it reading: "Also, I order that to Rodrigo Rangel, my secretary, be given, for the good services he has rendered me, three hundred ducats from my goods." See Buckingham Smith, *Narratives*, p. 277; and Solar and Rújula, p. 215.

been lost, but the narrative has fortunately been preserved almost in its entirety in the *Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-firme del Mar Océano,* written by that great author, Captain Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, whose manuscript was first published in Madrid, in 1851. The narrative is found in Vol. I. Book XVII, chapters XXI–XXVIII (pp. 544–577). Chapter XXVIII is incomplete as a footnote reveals (p. 577). A résumé of chapters XXIX–XXX was given by Oviedo, which carried the expedition to its end, but for some reason or other these chapters are missing from the narrative as published by the Real Academia de la Historia. This narrative was issued for the first time in English by Edward Gaylord Bourne in his volumes above mentioned. To Professor Bourne are due the thanks of scholars for his recognition of the material in Oviedo as practically the narrative of Rangel unchanged as it left the hand of the author. Oviedo simply incorporated the narrative in his book, with an occasional parenthetical remark which can be easily detected.* Rangel's account parallels the Elvas narrative in a surprising manner. It differs in amount of detail and in some of the matters recounted; but the two accounts are in more than general agreement, and it has been suggested that each author saw the other's MSS. or notes.

*Bourne (*Narratives,* I. xii-xiii) notes that B. Smith had called attention to Rangel's narrative in his *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (p. xxviii); that John Gilmary Shea had made extensive use of it in his "Ancient Florida" (see Winsor, *Narrative and critical History of America,* II. 231–298); and that Woodbury Lowery had also called attention to it in his *Spanish Settlements, 1513–1561* (New York, 1901), p. 458.

The three accounts, noted above are invaluable for an understanding of the expedition. From them a study of the nomenclature of the route followed and of the route itself can be made.

The fourth account, that of Garcilaso de la Vega, was completed in 1591 and most likely circulated to some extent in manuscript form before it was published in 1605. Just why it was published in Portugal instead of in Spain does not appear. The author of this narrative was the son of a Spanish conquistador by an Inca wife and was born during the time of the conquest. Of a literary turn of mind, he transferred his residence to Spain, where he wrote his *Comentarios* on the Peruvian conquest. He was probably influenced greatly in the writing of his narrative of the conquest in Florida because of Soto's connection with both countries. He has produced a very readable account, but one which (as seen above) can not be relied on in all particulars. However, by close comparison with the other three accounts, much can be gleaned from it. In its general outlines it tells the story much as in the other accounts. Its exaggerations and fanciful statements can be detected by the careful reader.* The title of the volume is *La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Gouernador y Capitan General del Reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos Caualleros Españoles è Indios.* It is described as "escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega,

*Thomas Field, in his *Essay towards an Indian Bibliography* (New York, 1873), p. 145, praises Garcilaso. The Reverend Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, C.S.C., has also recently come to the rescue of the Inca in an article published in the Jesuit Review, *Mid-America*, XV. (July, 1932), pp. 3–26 (also issued in reprint form). In this Dr. Steck emphasizes Soto's religious zeal.

capitan de su Magestad, natural de la gran ciudad del Cozco, cabeça de los Reynos y prouincias del Peru. . . ."; and was published "Con licencia de la santa Inquisicion. En Lisbona." It bears the imprint of Pedro Crasbeeck. The copy of this volume in the Library of Congress is the rare variant without the date on the title-page. The volume was reprinted in a folio edition in Madrid, in 1723, under the editorship of the well known scholar, Andrés González de Barcia who made use of the pseudonym "Gabriel Daza de Cardenas." The printing was performed at the office, and at the expense of Nicolas Rodríguez Franco, who dedicated the volume to Doña Isabel Farnesio, the queen of Spain. With it was published the *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia general de la Florida* of González Barcia (who here uses the pseudonym "Gabriel de Cardenas Z Cano"). In this edition, some of the typographical errors of the first edition were corrected, but other new ones were made. O. Rich, in his *Bibliotheca Americana Nova* (London and New York, 1835), p. 34, mentions a third Spanish edition of 1803, in four small volumes. This third edition is also mentioned by Thomas W. Field in his *Essay towards an Indian Bibliography*, p. 143, who dates it as of 1801. More definite information is given by Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual al Librero Hispano-Americano* (Barcelona), VI. (1927), 126, as having been published together with Garcilaso's other works in seventeen small volumes (Madrid, Villapando, 1800–1803). Palau also mentions another edition of Garcilaso's works under the title *Historia de la Conquista del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid, Hijos de Doña Catalina Piñuelo, 1829) in 9 vols. (in vols. II.–VII. appear-

ing both the *Comentarios* and *La Florida del Inca*).

The work enjoyed great popularity and in 1670 appeared in a French translation made by Pierre Richelet, under the title, *Histoire de la Floride, ov Relation de ce qvi s'est passe' au Voyage de Ferdinand de Soto, pour la conqueste de ce Pays* (2 vols., Paris). This translation was reissued in 1709 (2 vols., Paris), and again at Lille in 1711, at Leiden by Pieter van der Aa, in 1731, and at Amsterdam, in 1737. This last edition was used in making the German translation which was published at Frankfort and Leipzig in 1753 and again in 1786. In 1881, Barnard Shipp published an English translation of Richelet's French translation in his *History of Hernando de Soto and Florida; or, a Record of the Events of fifty-six Years, from* 1512 *to* 1568 (Philadelphia), pp. 229–487—the only translation yet appearing in English.

¶ Manuscripts Relative to the Expedition of Hernando de Soto.

THE available manuscript material connected with the expedition has been published only in part. This is especially true of the record of the long drawn-out lawsuit instituted by Isabel de Bobadilla against Hernán Ponce de León and his heirs. Certain data from those records are published by Solar and Rújula, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto* (Badajoz, 1929). The records are found in AI, 50–2–55/10.* An interesting and important document is the record of the suit between the Marqués del Valle and Nuño de Guzmán and the

*The Florida State Historical Society has a photostat copy of these records. See Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives,* for locations of many of the manuscripts named below.

adelantados Hernando de Soto and Pedro de Alvarado, concerning discoveries in the new lands, the original of which is in the Archivo General de Indias, and which is published in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . América,* XV. (1571), 300–408, under the title "Proceso del Marqués del Valle y Nuño de Guzman y los Adelantados Soto y Alvarado, sobre el Descubrimiento de la Tierra Nueva." The case for Soto was handled by his attorney, Juan de Barrutia, in the year 1541—whose efforts were expended in endeavoring to keep the operations in Florida entirely for his client. In the course of the suit various documents were inserted, which will be referred to later. For data relative to the manuscript of Luis Fernández de Biedma, see above, pp. 406–408. The capitulation made by the king with Hernando de Soto, at Valladolid, on April 20, 1537, seems to have been first published in 1857, by Buckingham Smith in his *Colección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida,* pp. 140–146; for the second time, in 1871, in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . América,* XV. 354–363, as an insert in the papers of the suit above mentioned; for the third time in Vol. XXII. of the same series (Madrid, 1874), pp. 534–546; and again by Solar and Rújula, pp. 91–117. The cédula of May 11, 1537, appointing Soto adelantado and captain general of Florida appears also in Solar and Rújula, pp. 119–122; and another cédula of equal date, granting to him the title of governor of the Isla Fernandina (*i.e.,* Cuba) during the period of the conquest of Florida was published in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . Ultramar,* IV. (1888), 431–437. Another cédula of Valladolid, December 30, 1537, prohibiting all interference with Soto's concession was published in *Col. de*

Doc. inéd. . . . América, XV. 366–367, as an insert in the suit above mentioned.

Various letters and reports which relate in whole or in part to Soto and the expedition have also been published and are available to investigators. A letter written by Gonzalo de Guzmán, Santiago, July 20, 1538, another by the cabildo of Santiago, dated July 26, and a third (August 1, 1538) by Bernardino de Quesada, Procurador of Santiago, each announcing Soto's arrival in Santiago and giving details of his stay there are published in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . Ultramar,* VI. (1891), 27–35, 36–37, and 39–42. A "testimonio" of September 14, 1538, recording the receipt of the royal cédula, ordering that 3,000 pesos be given to Soto by the royal officials of the fortress of Havana, appears on p. 43 of the same volume; and on pp. 47–50 is a letter from Bartolomé Ortiz, of March 30, 1539, noting the arrival of Soto and himself in Santiago and Soto's departure from that city and arrival at Havana. Among other things he says: "He wrote me that 200 horses would cross over with him, and that not counting the biscuits and other supplies, he had 3,000 loads of bread; that he was taking as his captain general Vasco Porcallo, the richest citizen of this island. He thinks he will set out on his conquest as soon as Easter is past. By way of Navidad he sent a captain with a caravel, a brigantine, and a large canoe to look for a safe port and to get an interpreter of the country." There are also other documents as follows: a letter of January 20, 1539, by Lope Hurtado, written from Gibraltar, notes the expenses of the governor of Florida (pp. 46–47); another from the bishop of Santiago, dated August 15, 1539, complains

of the damage caused in Cuba by Soto (pp. 57–58); complaints of Soto's conduct are also aired in a letter by Gonzalo de Guzmán, August 28, 1539 (pp. 59–60), and another from Juan de Agramonte, the accountant of Cuba in a letter of September 3, 1539 (pp. 61–68). The letter written to the king by the royal officials of Florida just before the departure for Florida, was first published by Buckingham Smith (in English translation) in his *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (pp. 280–281). A Spanish version appears in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . Ultramar,* VI. 54–56. The departure of the expedition is noted also in the letter of November 8, 1539, written to the king from Santiago by Bartolomé Ortiz (published in the same volume, pp. 72–89). The famous letter written by Soto from the port of Espiritu Santo, Florida (the only communication from him that is known after the departure from Cuba) to the cabildo of Santiago, on July 9, 1539, was first published by Ternaux-Compans, in his *Voyages, Relations et Memoires originaux,* XX. 43–50. The first English translation (made from the French of Ternaux-Compans), appeared in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1850), pp. 91–93. Other English versions (each differing slightly from the other) appeared in Buckingham Smith, *Letter of Hernando de Soto and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda* (Washington, 1854), pp. 7–10, and *Narratives* (New York, 1866), pp. 284–287. The latter is to be found also in Bourne, *Narratives,* II. 159–165. In *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . Ultramar,* VI. 118–119 (extract only) is a letter to Charles V. (Santiago, April 10, 1540) from Martín de Malvenda, noting the poor conditions in Cuba during Soto's absence in Flori-

da and the ineptitude of Ortiz because of his age; and on pp. 119–124, and 143–149, are two letters of April 10, and October 12, 1540, written from Santiago by Andrés de Parada to Isabel de Bobadilla, complaining of the conduct of the bishop of Santiago; an undated letter (pp. 149–150) from Juan de Barrutia to the king petitioning that action be taken against the bishop for meddling in affairs not germane to his office; a letter of October 15, 1540, from Bartolomé Ortiz (pp. 157–158), not only referring to the scandalous conduct of the bishop, but also giving news from Florida with regard to the expedition (partially, at least, obtained from Soto's letter mentioned above); a royal cédula of October 7, 1540 charging Soto or his lieutenant to finish the fortress at Havana before doing anything else, and ordering that testimony be sent that this has been done, and that notice be given of the artillery and munitions needed (pp. 142–143). The natural anxiety regarding the expedition in Florida is voiced in a letter from the cabildo of Santiago, dated December 31, 1541 (pp. 164–170). Finally, a cédula of August 14, 1543 (pp. 190–195), appointing Licentiate Juanes de Avilá, governor of Isla de Fernandina (*i.e.*, Cuba) in place of Hernando de Soto, inasmuch as "no news are known of him," reflects the opinion in Spain regarding the failure of the expedition.

Backfire of the unfortunate expedition continued to be seen, for on March 13, 1544 (pp. 204–209), a document set forth the charges made at the residencia of Bartolomé Ortiz (who had been Soto's alcalde mayor in Cuba) and others. Reminders are also seen in the will of Hernando de Soto (May 10, 1539), which was

published in English translation by Buckingham Smith in his *Narratives* pp. 273–280; and in Spanish (1929) by Solar and Rújula, pp. 207–221; as well as in the inventory and auction of Soto's possessions (*ibid.*, pp. 223–273), after his death was known. As late as 1560, the viceroy of New Spain sent to Philip II. testimony taken at the request of García Osorio, who had been a member of Soto's expedition, regarding his services. An English translation of this appears in Smith, *Narratives,* pp. 299–300. On pp. 300–301 of the same volume is a memorial of Alonso Vázquez addressed to the king, in which Vázquez petitions for certain privileges and asks permission to live in Florida. His services appear in an interrogatory.

Useful for the study of the expedition are various cédulas and other documents relative to officers of the expedition. For instance, a royal cédula of May 11, 1537, gave Juan de Añasco permission to traffic with the Indians of Florida so long as there were no duties on imports into these regions (see Buckingham Smith, *Narratives,* p. 223).*

Of interest in the reconstruction of Soto's life are various documents published by Buckingham Smith and Solar and Rújula. The former published (pp. 263–264) the "conveyance of dower by the widow of Pedrárias Dávila to Hernando de Soto, in consideration of the espousal of her daughter," dated Valladolid November 14, 1536. The Spanish version is given by Solar and Rújula (pp. 157–166). The latter also publishes the papers relative to Soto's entrance into the order of Santiago in 1538 (pp. 123–155). On May 13, 1539, five

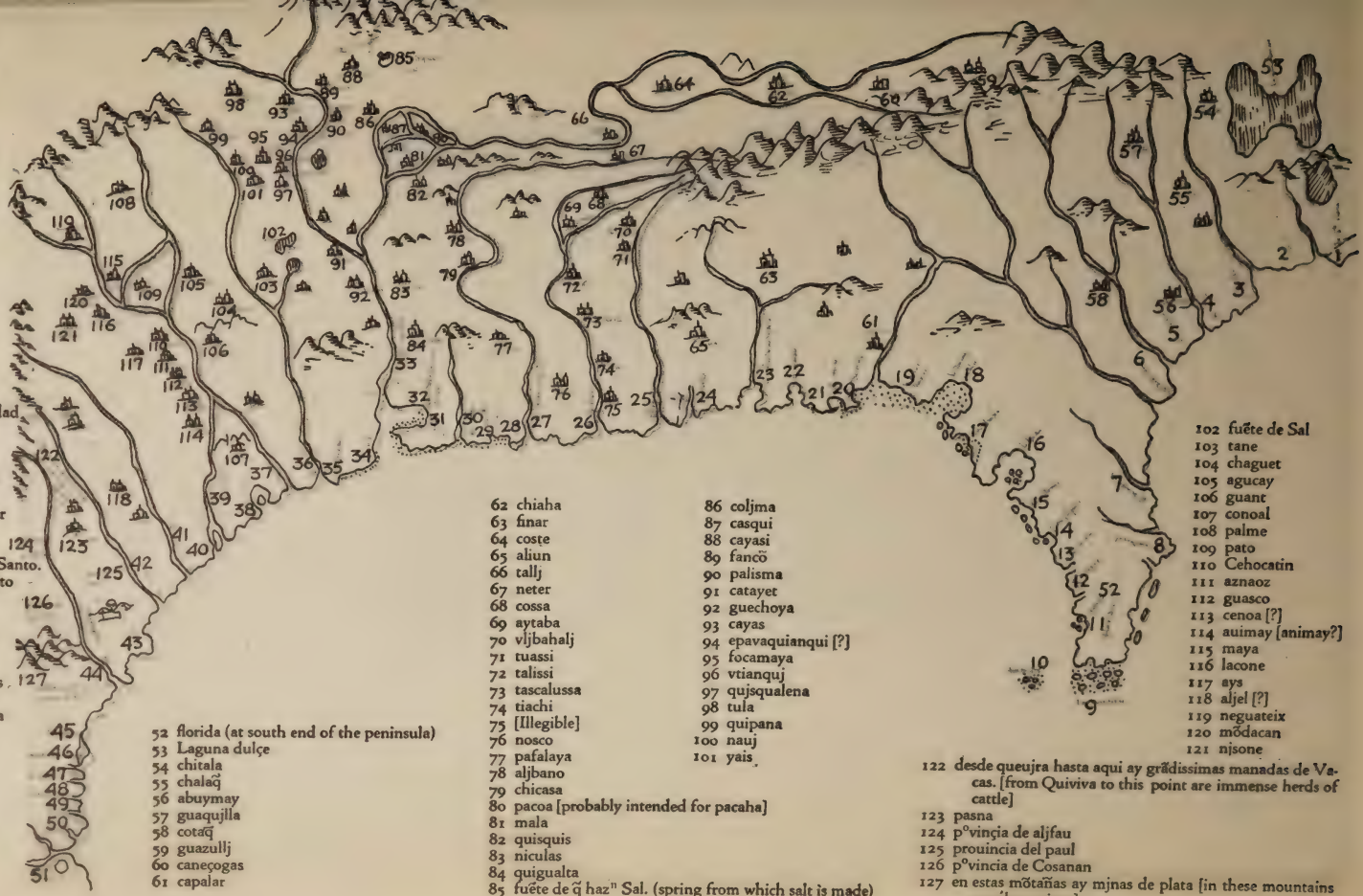
*See mention of other documents in the notes to this volume.

days before the departure for Florida, Soto made another renewal of his contract with Hernán Ponce de León. For this, see Solar and Rújula, pp. 79–89 (also see this volume, note 2). The day before his departure, Soto gave his wife power of attorney so that she could legally act in his name (Solar and Rújula, pp. 167–177). In consequence of the contracts with Hernán Ponce de León, Isabel de Bobadilla (Havana, June 2, 1539), brought suit against the latter (*ibid.*, pp. 179–184). In this connection, see also, "Proceso del Marqués del Valle y Nuño de Guzman y los Adelantados Soto y Alvarado sobre el Descubrimiento de la Tierra Nueva," of June 10, 1541, in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . América,* XV. 300–408. An undated document (perhaps *ca.*, 1546) is an interrogatory into the merits and services of Hernando de Soto (Solar and Rújula, pp. 185–190). This was made at the instance of García Carrillo, who had married Leonor de Soto, the natural daughter of Hernando de Soto and Leonor de Coya, the daughter of an Inca chief. The will of Leonor de Coya, dated Cuzco, October 1, 1546, is also given by Solar and Rújula (pp. 191–197).

¶ The Route of the Expedition.

THE route of the expedition, which has never been definitively mapped (and doubtless never will be) may be studied in the four primary narratives mentioned above, and especially in the Elvas Narrative in this volume.* Numerous studies of the route, either in

*On these four narratives, consult Theodore H. Lewis, "The Chroniclers of the De Soto Expedition," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* (Jackson, Mississippi), VII. (1903) 379–387 (reproduced in Dunbar Rowland), *A Symposium of the*



1 .C. de Sta elena
2 .C. grueso
3 .C. del anillo [?]
4 .R. Seco
5 mar baxa
6 .C. de la cruz
7 .R. de corrietes
8 .C. de canaveral
9 los martires
10 tortugas
11 aguada
12 .R. de la paz
13 .R. de canoas
14 b. de Juº pöçe
15 farallones
16 .b. höda
17 ancö baxo
18 .b. de miruelo
19 .b. de los baxos
20 .C. de cruz
21 pº chico
22 .pº fodable
23 .b. y Rio de navjdad
24 arenales
25 .R. de nieves
26 .R. de flores
27 .R. de los angeles
28 .C. rromo
29 matas del salvador
30 .R. baxo
31 mar pequeña
32 baya del espiritu Santo.
33 .R. del espiritu sãto
34 .C. de cruz
35 C desierto.
36 .R. de mötañas
37 .R. del oro
38 C. desierto
39 .R. de pescadores
40 .pº del copei
41 R. de la madalena
42 .R. de palmas
43 C bravo
44 .R. solo
45 mötañas
46 playa delgada
47 .R. de palmas
48 .R. de mötañas
49 Rio de siba
50 .R. hermoso
51 panuco

52 florida (at south end of the peninsula)
53 Laguna dulçe
54 chitala
55 chalaq̃
56 abuymay
57 guaquijlla
58 cotaq̃
59 guazullj
60 caneçogas
61 capalar

62 chiaha
63 finar
64 coste
65 aliun
66 tallj
67 neter
68 cossa
69 aytaba
70 vljbahalj
71 tuassi
72 talissi
73 tascalussa
74 tiachi
75 [Illegible]
76 nosco
77 pafalaya
78 aljbano
79 chicasa
80 pacoa [probably intended for pacaha]
81 mala
82 quisquis
83 niculas
84 quigualta
85 fuẽte de q̃ haz" Sal. (spring from which salt is made)

86 coljma
87 casqui
88 cayasi
89 fancö
90 palisma
91 catayet
92 guechoya
93 cayas
94 epavaquianqui [?]
95 focamaya
96 vtianquj
97 qujsqualena
98 tula
99 quipana
100 nauj
101 yais

102 fuẽte de Sal
103 tane
104 chaguet
105 agucay
106 guanc
107 conoal
108 palme
109 pato
110 Cehocatin
111 aznaoz
112 guasco
113 cenoa [?]
114 auimay [animay?]
115 maya
116 lacone
117 ays
118 aljel [?]
119 neguateix
120 mödacan
121 njsone

122 desde queujra hasta aqui ay grãdissimas manadas de Vacas. [from Quiviva to this point are immense herds of cattle]
123 pasna
124 pºvinçia de aljfau
125 prouincia del paul
126 pºvincia de Cosanan
127 en estas mötañas ay mjnas de plata [in these mountains are silver mines]

days before the departure for Florida, Soto made another renewal of his contract with Hernán Ponce de León. For this, see Solar and Rújula, pp. 79–80 (also see this volume, note 2). The day before his departure, Soto gave his wife power of attorney so that she could legally act in his name (Solar and Rújula, pp. 167–177). In consequence of the contracts with Hernán Ponce de León, Isabel de Bobadilla (Havana, June 2, 1539), brought suit against the latter (*ibid.*, pp. 170–184). In this connection, see also "Proceso del Marqués del Valle y Nuño de Guzmán y los Adelantados Soto y Alvarado sobre el Descubrimiento de la Tierra Nueva," of June 10, 1541, in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . América*, XV, 300–408. An undated document (perhaps *ca.*, 1540) is an interrogatory into the merits and services of Hernando de Soto (Solar and Rújula, pp. 185–190). This was made at the instance of Garcia Carrillo, who had married Leonor de Soto, the natural daughter of Hernando de Soto and Leonor de Coya, the daughter of an Inca chief. The will of Leonor de Coya, dated Cuzco, October 1, 1546, is also given by Solar and Rújula, pp. 191–197).

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whole or in part, have been made by various authors, which will be found useful to those who wish to enter upon the consideration of this interesting but tantalizing subject. The map reproduced at p. 418 of this volume is, so far as known, the first to show nomenclature reported by chroniclers of the expedition.

As preliminary studies, one will do well to read carefully the accounts of the expedition in John Gilmary Shea's "Ancient Florida" (in Winsor, *Narrative and critical History,* II. 246–253; Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish Settlements, 1513–1561* (New York, 1901), chapter IV, "De Soto and the Discovery of the Mississippi," pp. 213–252; giving special attention to the informative footnotes; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven, 1921), chapter III, "Hernando de Soto," pp. 46–78; George R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1871, chapter V, "Route of De Soto's Expedition through Florida," pp. 73–76 (second edition, with additions, Jacksonville, 1898); Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (Boston, 1910), chapter III, "On the Trail of De Soto," pp. 14–29; and the introduction in William B. Rye, *The Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida* (especially pp. xxxii–lxiv). For a study of the place names, consult, Albert S. Gatschet, *A Migratory Legend of the Creek Indians* (Philadelphia, 1884), and John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922; Bull. No. 73 of the Bureau of American Ethnology)—an invaluable volume. *Place of Discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando de Soto,* Oxford, Mississippi, 1927, pp. 1–10; and James Henry Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation* ([Memphis], 1919), "The four De Soto Narratives quoted and compared," pp. 100–103.

The Indian names as recorded in the Elvas, Hernández de Biedma, and Garcilaso accounts will be found in William B. Rye's introduction, mentioned above, and in the appendices to Barnard Shipp's *The History of Fernando de Soto* (Philadelphia, 1881); and for purposes of comparison, the names recorded in the accounts of the later French expeditions of Ribault, Laudonnière, and Gourgues, and in the Spanish memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda (also in Shipp) will be found useful.

The pamphlet by Alfred Hunter, *An Historical Account of the Adventures of Hernando de Soto . . . narrating his March from Tampa Bay, Florida, until his Arrival on the Banks of the mighty River . . .* (Washington, 1855) may be disregarded, as much of it is taken up with an eulogistic description of Powell's fanciful and inaccurate picture of the discovery of the Mississippi in the Capitol at Washington. On the landing place in Florida, one should consult the appendix in Buckingham Smith, *Letter of Hernando de Soto, and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda* (Washington, 1854), the section intitled "Espiritu Santo Bay" (pp. 51–65), in which after comparing the accounts of Elvas, Fernández de Biedma, Rangel, and Garcilaso, Smith concludes that the landing was at Tampa Bay, but somewhat south of that of Narvaez.

For the route east of the Mississippi, the following authors should be consulted: John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi* (New York, 1846), I. Book I, chapter II, "Invasion of Florida by Hernando de Soto, A.D. 1539 to 1540," pp. 16–32, and Chapter III, "The Spanish Expedition east of the Mississippi, A.D. 1540 to 1541,"

pp. 33–46; Daniel Marshall Andrews, *De Soto's Route from Cofitachequi, in Georgia, to Cosa, in Alabama* (Lancaster, Pa., 1917)—a reprint from *American Anthropologist*, XIX. (No. 1, 1917); Charles C. Jones, *Hernando de Soto. The Adventures encountered and the Route pursued by the Adelantado during his March through the Territory embraced within the present geographical Limits of the State of Georgia* (Savannah, 1880); Thomas Maxwell, *Tuskaloosa, the origin of its Name, its History, etc.* (Tuskaloosa, 1871)—a paper read before the Alabama Historical Society, July 1, 1876; J. A. Pickett, *Invasion of the Territory of Alabama, by one thousand Spaniards, under Ferdinand de Soto, in* 1540 (Charleston, 1849)—later inserted as the opening chapter of Pickett's *History of Alabama* (Charleston, 1851) and reviewed in *DeBows' Review of the Southern and Western States*, IX. (New Orleans, July, 1850), pp. 19–21.

The point where the Mississippi was crossed has long been a bone of contention among writers and investigators. A number of papers mostly of a controversial character which were published separately, were afterward gathered together by Dunbar Rowland in his *A Symposium of the Place of Discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando de Soto* (Oxford, Mississippi, 1927). These were as follows: Theodore H. Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepatana to Huhasene," in *Pubs. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, VI. (1902), 449–467; Rowland, "Did De Soto discover the Mississippi River in Tunica County, Mississippi?" in *Pubs. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, II. (1918), 144–148; Rowland, "A second Chapter concerning the Discovery of the Mississippi River by De Soto in Tunica County, Miss." in *ibid.*, pp. 158–164—an

answer to a paper by Judge J. P. Young which was published in *The Commercial Appeal* of Memphis, on March 18, in answer to Rowland's first paper noted above.* The last article in the *Symposium* (pp. 52–96) is by Charles A. Barton, "Where did De Soto discover the Mississippi River?" Barton agrees with Rowland. With these should be read, James Henry Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation,* "De Soto at the Chickasaw Bluffs," pp. 134–175.

By all odds, the best study of the route west of the Mississippi, is that by Theodore H. Lewis, noted above, "Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Huhasene." With it are incorporated footnotes on Indian place names signed by H. S. Halbert, who spent many years among the Choctaws.† Other accounts will be found in J. H. McCulloh, *Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian* (Baltimore, 1829), appendix III, pp. 523–531, "Of the Invasion of Florida by Ferdinand de Soto and of the Countries traversed in that Expedition"; Alexander J. Meek, "The Pilgrimage of De Soto," first published in *Southron Monthly Magazine and Review* for January, 1839, and later in *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History* (New York, 1857), pp. 214–234; John W. Monette (*ut supra*), I. book I, chapter IV, "The Spanish Expedition west of the Mississippi, A.D., 1541 to 1543," pp. 47–64; Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory during*

*Judge Young's paper was reprinted in the *Symposium,* pp. 149–157 under the title "De Soto at Chickasaw Bluffs: A review of the Works of various Historians of the Great Spaniard's Life."

†See Halbert, "Nanih Waiya, the Sacred Mound, of the Choctaws," in *Pubs. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.,* I. (1898), 223–234.

the Year 1819 (Philadelphia, 1821), Appendix, section I, "An Account of the ancient aboriginal Population of Banks of the Mississippi, and the contiguous Country," pp. 247–267; and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures in the semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas which were first traversed by De Soto, in* 1541 (Philadelphia, 1853)—see especially, chapters X, XII, XIV, and XV.

¶ Books About Hernando de Soto and His Expedition.

SOTO, the man and leader, and his expedition into Florida have tempted many authors, and many books of varying degrees of merit have been written. Undoubtedly, the best book in English is Theodore Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1930). It was written, however, entirely from the translated sources but its author has shown a fine discrimination in his use of these. Something might have been gained from a perusal of the sources in Spanish, especially those manuscripts which have been published (see *ante,* pp. 412–418), as well as from those still unpublished. The definitive life of Soto is yet to be written. Many of the books, indeed the majority of them, have been influenced rather by the account of Garcilaso de la Vega than by the other accounts, although some authors have gone to some degree to the Elvas account and to the account by Fernández de Biedma. The most popular accounts have been those by Theodore Irving, *The Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1835); Grace King, *De Soto and his Men in the Land of Florida* (New York, 1898); and

Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, *Hernando de Soto: together with an Account of one of his Captains, Gonçalo Silvestre* (London, 1903). All have gone into two or more editions and all are very readable. Hernando de Soto lends himself very readily to romance and he would be a chaste author who did not take advantage of this when writing for a large public. Irving used to some degree the faulty English translation of the Elvas narrative of 1686 and the abridged account in Purchas, but his main reliance was on Garcilaso whom he ardently defends. In the preface to his second edition, he says that a copy of Fernández de Biedma's narrative was placed in his hand; but he regarded it as a "confused statement of an illiterate soldier," not realizing probably that Fernández de Biedma was the factor of the expedition and had probably been ordered to write his record. His Spanish is not that of an illiterate man.

Of less merit than the above three are the volumes by Lambert A. Wilmer, *The Life, Travels and Adventures of Ferdinand de Soto, Discoverer of the Mississippi* (1858); John S. C. Abbott, *Ferdinand de Soto, the Discoverer of the Mississippi* (1873); and Frederick A. Ober, *Ferdinand de Soto and the Invasion of Florida* (1906): of each of which nothing need be said here.

Quite naturally, a man of Soto's vision, character, and force has appealed to writers of fiction and a number of novels centering around his life and the expedition have appeared. Of these, it might not be amiss to mention the following: W. Gilmore Simms, *Vasconselos: A Romance of the New World* (1856); Dominick Daly, *Adventures of Roger L'Estrange* (1896)—purporting to be a translation of a manuscript discovered in the National

Library of Mexico, but being simply the story of Juan Ortiz; Charles E. Knowles, *In Quest of Gold. Being a Romance dealing with the remarkable Expedition of Ferdinand de Soto and his Cavaliers in the Year* 1539 (1912); and Mary Brabson Littleton, *By the King's Command: A Romance of Ferdinand de Soto* (1928). Each of these leaves much to be desired on both the historical and the literary side. A number of poems have also been written, which are generally bad. The one outstanding poem in the lot is that by Mrs. Rose Mills Powers, Winter Park, Florida, *The Ride of the Thirty Cavaliers,* which is written with considerable spirit and with good meter. It is based on the incidents related by Garcilaso when Soto sent Añasco and the thirty horsemen to fetch Calderón from Espiritu Santo to Apalache (see the incident as related by Cunninghame Graham, pp. 220–237).

Very few studies have been made in Spain of the Soto episode, during the present epoch. The excellent little source book of Solar and Rújula of which much use has been made in the present volume, has already been mentioned. Prior to the publication of his volume was the study of Luis Villanueva y Cañedo, *Estudio Biográfico* (Badajoz, 1929).* Solar and Rújula add very

*This is the second edition. In a footnote (p. 210) the author says: "This modest biographical study of mine is the first history which has been written and which presents in our town the great adventures and memorable deeds of this famous warrior. In [Hispanic] America and in the United States, he is better known, though more poorly judged, than in Spain. Posterity and historical investigation, in doing him justice, are making known his glorious deeds and the correctness of his actions, and consider him one of the greatest figures of our glorious conquests in the new world."

materially to his list of men among the expeditionaries who came from Estremadura. Constantino Bayle, S.J., in his series "Grandezas Españoles" has written a small volume intitled *Hernando de Soto* (Madrid, n.d., but about 1930), in which Soto is eulogized for his constancy in suffering, his valor, magnanimity, and his moderation. He treats of Soto both in Peru and Florida, ending with his death and burial. Another small book is that by Ventura García Calderón, *Anécdotas escogidos* (Paris, 1925). This consists of selections taken from Garcilaso de la Vega.

¶ Maps.

THE two maps reproduced in this volume are perhaps the two most important of the early maps connected with the expedition of Hernando de Soto. The first map (reproduced between pp. 156–157), "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississippi," was published in 1718 by the great French cartographer, Guillaume Delisle. On it he depicted the routes of Soto and Moscoso and laid down a number of the villages through which they passed. Both maps have frequently been reproduced (generally from Harrisse). The second (reproduced at p. 418), is the earliest known map to incorporate nomenclature reported in the Soto narratives, and to attempt to lay down certain of the coast and interior points through which the expedition passed. This map (the original of which is a manuscript, measuring 59 x 44 cm., and conserved in the Archivo General de Indias, 145–7–8) was first reproduced by Henry Harrisse in his *Discovery of North America* (London, 1892), facing p. 644. It was apparently reproduced from

a tracing of the original, as the nomenclature shows. Harrisse notes that a number of the names on the map were first heard of through the Soto expedition.*

The second map has been reproduced, for instance, in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* II. 293; in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528–1543,* p. 132; in Rowland, *Symposium,* facing p. 10; in Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores* (1932), facing p. 268; and in Priestley, *The Luna Papers* (DeLand, 1928—from a photograph of the original), I. facing p. xix. The second is reproduced in part in the Amsterdam (1737) edition of Richelet's translation of Garcilaso, whence it was reproduced in Winsor, II. 294–295;† and in French, II.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the nomenclature (in part at least) is quite commonly seen on the maps. The Sanson maps dating from as early as 1657, for instance, quite commonly carry such nomenclature. The Delisle map of 1703 "Du Mexique et de la Floride," has considerable Soto nomenclature. His great map of 1718 is his first to show the route.

*Some errors are made in Harrisse's transcription of the names. In the map as reproduced in the present volume, the nomenclature of the entire map has been transcribed and printed on a tissue. The map was listed by Pedro Torres Lanzas in his *Relación descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos, &, de México y Floridas* (Seville, 1900), I., No. 1, where it is entitled "Golfo y Costa de Nueva España, desde el Rio de Pánuco hasta el Cabo de Santa Elena." On the back of the map (probably written by some archivist through some error) is written "De los papeles que traxeron de Sevilla de Alonso de Santa Cruz." The aid of Miss Stella R. Clemence in transcribing the nomenclature of this map is here acknowledged.

†Winsor errs in dating the Amsterdam edition 1707. It is 1737.

By the middle of the seventeenth century maps quite commonly showed nomenclature introduced from the narratives of the Soto Expedition. This is true of the Sanson and other French maps of this general period, and by the Delisle maps as early as his great map "Du Mexique et de la Louisiane" of 1703.*

For map suggestions relative to the expedition, see Winsor, II. the note on pp. 294–296. Maps such as those in the following works should also be consulted: McCulloh, *Researches* (1829); Meek, *Romantic Passages* (1857); Rye, *Discovery and Conquest* (1851); B. Smith, *Narratives* (1866; map compiled by Brevoort); Maxwell, *Tuskaloosa* (1876), the route from Tampa Bay to the Mississippi; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements* (1901), the route east of the Mississippi; King, *De Soto and his Men* (1898); and Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands* (1921). Mrs. Isabel Garrard Patterson of Atlanta is studying the route and if she decides to publish may later have a map. Mr. John C. Cooper of Jacksonville, Florida, is making an extensive study of Soto's landing place in Florida which he is basing on intensive study of the old maps.

J. A. R.

*See also Wytfliet's Atlas of 1597, for nomenclature derived from the Soto expedition.

¶Aa, Pieter van der: publishes Dutch edition of the Elvas, 401-2.
Aays (Ind. prov.): location, 380; Moscoso reaches, 248; river crossed at, 258.
Aays: identified, 385. *See also* Ayays.
Abbadia, Joannes de (Basque sailor): helps bury Soto, 382.
Abbott, John S. C.: cited, 424.
Acapachiqui. *See* Capachiqui.
Aceituno, Francisco: builds fort, 338.
Acela (Vicela): location, 343; exped. reaches, 52.
Achese (Chisi; Ind. town): Span. at, 77, 350.
Acorns: pecans resemble, 311, 370, 395.
Acosta, José de: cited, 333.
Acoste (Coste; Ind. town): cacique of, visits Soto, 108; Soto reaches, 110; he leaves, 113; Ind. of, 362.
Aeykite (Ind. town): identified, 350.
Agramonte, Juan de (accountant of Santiago): complains of Soto, 336; letter by, cited, 415.
Agriculture: Ind., in Florida, 187-8.
Aguacalcuen (Aguascaleyquen). *See* Caliquen.
Aguacate: conjecture regarding, 395.
Aguacay (Guacay; Ind. prov.): location, 237, 310, 383; cacique of, sends gifts to Span., 237-8; Span. reach, 238; Ind. abandon, 238; salt made in, 238.
Aiton, Arthur S.: cited, 393.
Alabama: Coosa in, 363.
Alaminos,————. *See* Alimamos.
Albuquerque, Spain: men from, join Soto, 12.
Alcala la Real, Spain: Mendoza born in, 392-3.
Alcedo, Antonio de: cited, 392.
Alimamos (Alaminos)————(one of Soto's men):

lost, 101, 359; rejoins men, 102.
Alimamu (Ind. cacique and his town): visits Soto, 142; Soto at town of, 152; Ind. of, 369.
Alqueire (measure): defined, 387.
Altamaca (Altamaha, Altapaha; Ind. town): name, 350-1; Soto in, 79.
Alvarado, Isabel de: mother of Moscoso, 323.
Alvarado, Juan de (brother of Moscoso): joins exped., 323.
Alvarado, Pedro de: Moscoso related to, 323; lawsuit of, cited, 412-13.
Amaye (Maye; Ind. district): Span. in, 239, 384; cacique of, hostile to Span., 241.
Ambushes: Ind. captured in, 201, 211; Ind. prepare, 267.
America, Hispanic: pitch plants in, 391.
American Historical Association: *Report,* cited, 322.
Aminoya (Minoya; Ind. town): location and description, 260, 262, 387; two towns, 261; Span. sent to, 260-1; Span. at, 263; Ind. of, serve Span., 270; Span. leave, 271, 273, 274.
Anchors: made from iron stirrups, 266; lost, 288; fail to hold, 291, 293.
Andalusia (Span. prov.): cabbage palms in, 53.
Andrews, Daniel Marshall: cited, 351, 352, 421.
Anhaica (Iniahica, Iniahico, Iviahica) Apalache (Ind. town): name and location, 346; Soto reaches, 67; he leaves, 73.
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